


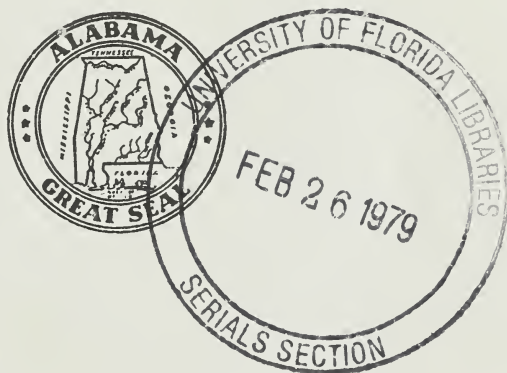
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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



Vol. XXXIX

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Milo B. Howard, Jr., Editor

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COLONEL HILARY A. HERBERT'S
'HISTORY OF THE EIGHTH ALABAMA VOLUNTEER
REGIMENT, C. S. A.'

EDITED BY: MAURICE S. FORTIN

INTRODUCTION

"While thus we have so much cause for congratulation and pleasure; let us not and never forget the memory of the noble spirits who fell in the glorious work whose consummation we were spared to establish and commemorate."

Brigadier General William Mahone, C. S. A.

Hilary Abner Herbert, the author of the *History of the Eighth Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C. S. A.*, was the last Colonel of that Regiment. At the battle of the Wilderness he was seriously wounded, and this injury prompted his retirement. He subsequently had a distinguished public service career as Congressman from the 2nd Congressional District of Alabama from 1876 through 1892; and as Secretary of the Navy during Grover Cleveland's second administration, 1893-1897. He was the first Cabinet member from Alabama and also the first ex-Confederate appointed to a Cabinet post.

In 1903, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, requested of Herbert the preparation of a sketch of the Eighth Alabama Infantry Regiment, to be printed by the Department along with other sketches of Alabama Civil War military groups. Herbert, while anxious to see such an history in print, was at the time very busy with his large law practice in Washington, D. C., and proceeded slowly. The result was a manuscript, completed in 1906, far longer than Dr. Owen's anticipated "sketch." What Colonel Herbert attempted to do was not to write a "sketch" but rather to write "the history of a representative unit of Lee's army," which he considered the Eighth Alabama Infantry to be, and thereby preserve the history of that gallant command. In a letter transmitting the manuscript to Dr. Owen, Herbert stated, "It is a history, necessarily, in large part, not only of the

Eighth, but also the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Fourteenth Alabama Regiments, all of which were brigaded together in the summer of 1862 and fought together to the close of the war."

It was then the custom to publish Alabama histories preliminarily in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, and publication of the *History of the Eighth Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C. S. A.* began in that paper Sunday, July 22, 1906 and continued in consecutive Sunday installments through September 16, 1906. After the publication of his "History" in the newspaper, Herbert proceeded to correct and revise, striking out portions and making additions to the manuscript. Accordingly, the manuscript and papers contain many annotations, elaborations, and inserts. There are indications that the length of the manuscript, along with certain appendices, was more than Dr. Owen's publishing budget could meet at that time. He also objected to certain contents of the manuscripts and suggested a major revision that would reduce the writings by some forty pages. The development of the manuscript is fully recorded in correspondence in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History.

Herbert's introductory to his "History" is a long essay in which he expounds his belief that the fanaticism of the northern abolitionists provoked the coming of the Civil War. Dr. Owen thought this chapter too long. He wrote Herbert, "I think you will agree that it would hardly be proper to embrace a sketch of the abolition movement with the history of the Eighth Alabama Regiment. It would not be improper to have a very brief preliminary sketch of two or three pages, but I think that a sketch of the length you propose would not be appropriate." Herbert, however, did not agree. He considered that chapter pertinent history and "not out of place in an introductory chapter, . . . inasmuch as my conclusion of the whole matter is that the abolition crusade was the direct cause of the antagonism between the two sections which resulted eventually in secession and war." On another occasion he again resisted any change in his manuscript and explained the relevance of his introductory chapter by writing: "For one, I am unwilling that my descendants shall misunderstand the motives and purposes underlying secession and the civil war." To him this

chapter was but a realistic examination of the facts. Herbert later expanded this chapter into a book, "The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences," which was published in 1912. Both Herbert's 'Introductory' chapter to this history of his Regiment, and his book are notable contributions to the historiography of the abolitionist movement in our nation's history.

Herbert's well written and very readable "History," which he hoped "would be attractive not only to Alabamians but students of the war everywhere," offers new insights to the conflict. His generally excellent and truthful observations, which are well substantiated by other sources, are marred in his recollections of the early days of the Maryland campaign around Crampton's Gap and Pleasant Valley, just prior to the Union surrender of Harper's Ferry, (Chapter VIII). He credits "Stonewall" Jackson with capturing Loudoun Heights, whereas it was Brigadier General John G. Walker's forces who captured these heights, Jackson being involved at the time with the capture of Bolivar Heights.

Herbert states that his regiment passed into Pleasant Valley through Crampton's Gap after a march from Hagerstown. It is more likely that the regiment's march began south of Frederick and proceeded south-southwest to and through the Gap. It is also unfortunate that Herbert failed to elaborate upon and specifically reconstruct the Eighth Alabama's activities in Pleasant Valley. All that is known is that Wilcox's Brigade, of which the Eighth Alabama formed a part, then under the command of Colonel Alfred Cumming, was ordered to the support of Brigadier Generals Howell Cobb, William Mahone, and Paul J. Semmes. The three were attempting to withstand Union Major General William Buel Franklin's effort to pass Crampton's Gap just prior to the Union surrender at Harper's Ferry.

Nevertheless, in the same chapter Herbert provides a singular contribution to the events that occurred during the battle of Sharpsburg. He gives the story of what occurred to his regiment and to other Confederate troops during the day of battle in the lower areas of the battlefield near and around Pfeiffer's (Piper's) house. The Union forces were never successful in holding this ground. His account is the only report of Confederate action that this editor found, and is, accord-

ingly, a unique assessment of the day's action in the Pfeiffer's farm area.

The chapter on the battle of Salem Church (Chapter XI) relates a view of this battle from an officer who actively commanded a regiment totally involved in the battle and who received a commendation for his leadership during this action. This account is without doubt an important addition to the history of that day's combat.

Chapter XII offers important points on the general history of the battle of Gettysburg and includes a detailed account of the Eighth Alabama and other regiments of Wilcox's Brigade. The chapter is also interesting for Herbert's obvious criticism of Confederate Major General Richard H. Anderson's leadership because of his failure to support assaults by portions of his Division when success seemed assured.

The last three chapters provide personal accounts of officers who were actively involved with their troops in the severe actions of the Petersburg campaign and the months that followed. The 'History' ends with a pitifully pathetic description of the retreat toward Appomattox C. H. during the "Last Few Days" of this brave fighting group.

Herbert's enthusiasm for his "History" is not surprising. A main purpose of his efforts in writing of his old regiment was his patriotic feeling that his old comrades should be remembered. He felt that they were motivated with "that pride which was inborn in every Confederate" and with "true courage, willingness to die for one's conviction." This feeling applied to most of the men who fought alongside him in the Army of Northern Virginia, an army he considered one of the greatest military organizations of all time, and, considering its valiant history, that is not an unreasonable assumption.

Appendices of additional material which are relevant to the story of the Eighth Alabama Infantry Regiment are provided. All names in parentheses were added by the editor. The rosters of the officers of the Eighth Alabama Infantry Regiment, and of its ten (10) companies and supernumeraries, were obtained principally from the compiled service records of

Confederate soldiers who served from the State of Alabama, which are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. The rosters were checked against records deposited in the Military Section, Alabama Department of Archives and History, and the soldiers mentioned in Herbert's "History".

A close study of Herbert's work results in the opinion that it was written without malice and that it is an excellent addition to the general literature of the Civil War. It is hoped other readers will agree. In any event, it is the editor's contention that Herbert's "History" merited publication in book form.

The editor desires to express his gratitude to Mr. Milo Howard, Director, Alabama Department of Archives and History, for permission to use the Herbert material and to members of his staff, Mr. D. Floyd Watson and Mrs. Margie Locker, of the Military Section, for their patience and assistance in bringing to light the records, rosters and files that provided much of the material for this book.

Maurice S. Fortin

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PREFACE

Forty years and more have passed since the gallant old 8th Alabama laid down its arms at Appomatox; and it did not even then turn over its flag to the enemy, as required by the terms of the surrender. So frenzied with grief were those gallant veterans who from Yorktown to Appomatox had never lost a flag, that they tore their shot-riddled banner into tatters, and each of them who was fortunate enough to get a piece preserved it as a memento of the many fields on which they and their comrades had carried it to victory. Singular it is that, notwithstanding the spirit of devotion thus typified, not a member of the regiment during all the years since Appomatox has undertaken the task of writing its history. Indeed, during the civil war there were very few letters written from the regiment to the press at home — not one that the writer can now lay hand upon, to help him in his task. The general historian records that the men of the 8th were fighters, but they have written little for the press — far too little.

When recently it was published that at the request of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, Director of the Department of Archives and History at Montgomery, I had undertaken this history, a letter came from Captain W(illiam) L. Fagan of Company K, now living near Havana, Greene County, Ala., offering me a diary he had kept, making frequent entries in it during the whole war, even down to Appomatox, where he was present. The regiment contained no more reliable officer than gallant Captain Fagan, and I have, therefore, made much use of his memoranda. There is before me also "A Short History of the 8th Alabama Regiment," written by myself in camp near Orange C. H., Va., in the winter of 1863-4, in response to a request, or order, from Colonel (William Henry) Fowler, the Adjutant General of Governor (Thomas Hill) Watts, requiring such a report from officers at the head of several Alabama commands. From this little sketch the following is a quotation:

In the accounts of each battle I have consulted with those officers who were most cognizant of the facts, and this account has been open to the inspection of all the officers of the regiment. Their comments have been invited and I have in several instances availed

myself of their suggestions. — The writer has been obliged to mention his own name oftener than he would have desired in a writing of his own. This has been unavoidable from the nature of the report called for, and the relation the writer has sustained to the regiment.

A like apology is perhaps now again necessary, as I undertake the task assigned me, of writing more fully and attempting to give a life color to the history made by my comrades.

It is scarcely fair, however, to myself, to speak of this little work as “a task” imposed upon me and executed under orders. It has been entered upon with alacrity, and with a spirit of thankfulness that I have at least been able to devote a portion of my time to the performance of this which has now come to be a duty to my comrades, dead and living.

Most assuredly the fullness of time has come when something more ought to be written, not only of the history of the 8th Alabama, but also of Wilcox's Brigade, of which it formed a part. This has been to me painfully manifest as I have proceeded with my investigations, for I have found no extended notice anywhere, either of the Brigade, or of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 14th Alabama, which composed it.

What I have found is, that at Salem Church, where on May 3, 1863, Wilcox's brigade was the chief factor in one of the most glorious victories of the war, somebody has set up a tablet stating that the battle was won by General (Jubal A.) Early, when Early had nothing to do with it, he and his command being some five miles away.

Again I have discovered that recently some of the survivors of Mahone's old brigade were making the claim that they were entitled to the chief credit of the great Confederate triumph at the Crater, July 30, 1864, and that they were for a time discussing the project of setting up a memorial tablet to their command on the Crater proper, when the fact is that Wilcox's brigade captured the Crater proper and Mahone only captured the works to the left of it.

To say, however, that it was Wilcox's brigade that captured the Crater is not historically correct, except in this: When the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 14th Alabama first came together Wilcox was their commander. Under him they first won reputation, and therefore its soldiers generally, during the whole war, and its survivors always since Appomatox, refer to themselves as members of Wilcox's brigade; but this by no means implies any imputation on the brave generals who subsequently had charge of it. After Wilcox had been promoted away from us, Abner Perrin was our general, until he was killed at Spotsylvania, May 11, 1864; then John C. C. Sanders, till he was killed near Petersburg, June 22, 1864; and then (Brigadier General) W(illiam) H. Forney was its general until the surrender. General Sanders is entitled to the credit of having led at the Crater. All our commanders were gallant officers and were in turn idolized by the brigade, yet it is natural, however, that these old veterans should cling always to the name by which the five regiments, as an organization, were first baptized with fire and glory in the battles around Richmond in 1862.

The story of the 8th Alabama is, to a large extent, necessarily a history of the brigade of which it formed a part, and it is hoped that the survivors of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 14th Alabama Regiments will find in these pages a contribution which will be of value to them and to the memory of their dead comrades.

With sincere regrets that other demands upon my time have prevented me from making this little work more thorough than it can pretend to be, and yet with the feeling that what is here set down has been written with an earnest desire to state facts as they were, I submit this little work to the public; and especially do I ask for these pages the kindly consideration of the noble women of our State. It was the patriotism, the enthusiasm, the devotion and self-sacrificing spirit of our women that, more than all else, nerved the hearts of the Alabama soldiers who fought under Magruder and Johnston and Lee from Yorktown to Appomatox.

Hilary A. Herbert
Last Colonel 8th Ala. Vols.
Washington, D. C., June 1906

INTRODUCTORY

The Volunteer Spirit of 1861. Causes.

The formation in the spring of 1861 of the Confederate States of America was greeted with transports of delight, and young men who were the flower of the land volunteered into its armies with an alacrity which the reader of today will fail to understand without a brief survey of pre-existing conditions. We were then exulting over the dissolution of a union that at that time unfortunately had become hateful and we hailed with great gladness the setting up of a government of our own, just as the Norwegians were last year, 1905, rejoicing over peaceful separation from Sweden, their long union with which had become irksome and intolerable. In principle the two cases are parallel. Between Sweden and Norway, two sovereign states, there was a limited union. Norway felt that Sweden, the majority nation, was claiming and exercising powers not authorized by the Act of Union. There was no one to judge between the two sovereign States, and Norway seceded. Our case was the same.

The government at Washington was a limited union, formed by sovereign States, each State surrendering for the purposes of this union certain powers specifically designated in the constitution that brought them together. The broad limitation was that all powers not granted in this constitution were specifically reserved. The seceding States in 1860-1 withdrew from the union because in their judgment the majority section was claiming and exercising, and threatening still further to exercise, rights not warranted by the constitution, the basis of a union, which had now become to them exasperating and intolerable. The two cases of secession can be differentiated only in this, that between the two sections of the American union there existed far more bitterness, and there had been far more of vituperation and personal abuse, than has ever prevailed between the people of Sweden and Norway.

The Southern people believe in the right of a State to secede peaceably from our union, just as Norway has recently done from its union with Sweden, whenever in its own judgment the State had good cause; and public opinion on the sub-

ject in the early days of the Republic is thus stated by that eminent historiographer, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge:

When the constitution was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of States in popular convention, it is safe to say there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment, entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right to peaceably withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised.

Certain it is that the union could never have been formed if it had been plainly written down in the constitution that the general government was to be the ultimate judge of its own powers.

In 1797, only eight years after the adoption of our Federal constitution, Oliver Edwards, who had been a member of the convention, and Rufus King, both then United States Senators from Massachusetts, confidentially informed "John Taylor of Caroline," that if Congress should persist in carrying out certain policies the New England States might conclude to withdraw from the union.

During the war of 1812, Congress, as a war measure, imposed an embargo on American shipping. This bore hard on the shipping interests of New England, and in 1815, delegates representing the New England States in a convention at Hartford, threatened to secede from the union. But New England did not secede. Soon after the Hartford convention peace came with Great Britain, the embargo terminated, and the trouble was at an end.

Had the New England States in 1815 put into effect their threat to secede, it is safe to say there would have been no effort to resist the movement by an armed force. Public opinion would not have sanctioned it. But during forty-five years of prosperity intervening between 1815 and 1860 there had been a wonderful growth of union sentiment in the North, which

had found in the cotton producing South the best possible market for its manufactures, its meats and its broadstuffs. Immigration, too, had greatly strengthened Union sentiments at the North. Millions of foreigners had come into that section, knowing nothing of the history of our government, or of the Constitution, its basis. All they knew was that this was a great and free country, and with them dismemberment was not debatable. There was also a continually growing patriotic pride in the rapidly increasing strength and power of the United States, now coming into the front rank of nations. But the Southern people, — how could they, in 1860, feel pride in a government which from their viewpoint no longer protected them in their rights?

The agitation of the slavery question had now completely estranged the two sections. In my effort to show how this deplorable result came about, I shall rely for my most important statements on the two most eminent Northern historians who have written of it, (William) Goodell, the Abolition Historian, "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," 1852, and (James Ford) Rhodes, "History of the United States," Boston. Goodell is the highest authority among Abolition writers. Mr. Rhodes is the greatest living American historian, though he makes no attempt to disguise the fact that he is a follower of the Republican party.

The Crusade of the "Modern Abolitionists," 1831-61.

The name "Modern Abolitionists" attaches to those who founded in the North an anti-slavery party in 1831, because they promulgated the idea, then distinctly *modern*, that the people of the whole Union were morally responsible for the sin of slavery wherever and as long as it existed in any part of the United States. Previous opinion had been that, as the constitution gave the general government no power over slavery in the States, voters in the free States ought not to trouble their consciences about the transgressions of their friends in the slave States. This new or modern idea first took shape in "The Liberator," established in Boston, Mass., January 1, 1831, by William Lloyd Garrison.

The consequences which followed the founding of this new school and which it is the purpose of this chapter to briefly

sketch, constitute one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of mankind, finding parallels only in the crusades of the middle ages for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the history of the Reformation. Yet the acknowledged founder, or to speak more accurately, organizer of "Modern Abolitionism," was not intellectually remarkable. In this regard he was distinctly inferior to Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, James Julian, and hundreds of others who accepted his tenets and became his disciples. William Lloyd Garrison was great, if great at all, only in his self sacrificing devotion to a single idea, and he attracted attention not by his ability as a writer, but by the boldness with which he denounced slavery and slaveholders. His success illustrates the fact that a wire of moderate size suffices to bring down lightning from a cloud that is surcharged with electricity.

The mighty wave of anti-slavery sentiment that sprang up in Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century was just about in 1831 to complete its great work in the British parliament; it had also freed, or provided for the ultimate freedom of slaves in the northern States of our Union; and now the progress of manumission by State legislatures had stopped short, at least for the present, at the borders of those of our States where slaves were most numerous. Within these States the problem was being debated, but at the time men in the North, who believed slavery to be a curse, had many of them begun to doubt whether the South would ever see its way to emancipation.

Even at the time of this writing there are many broad-minded men in that section, who, while admitting that the aggressive program of the Modern Abolitionists was lawless, nevertheless make for them the plea that the Southern States would not voluntarily have manumitted their slaves, and that the crusade was a necessity if slavery was ever to be abolished. My study of history does not incline me to accept this view. My belief is that the South, if left alone, would have fallen into line with the growing sentiment of the age and long before this would have found its way to emancipation. Certain I am that if the North, while refusing to advocate or countenance slave insurrections in the South, had proposed and voted for a constitutional amendment authorizing the general government to

abolish slavery and make compensation to owners from the public purse, as Great Britain did, the South would have accepted the terms with gladness. Such a scheme, or even some modification of it showing that Northern Abolitionists were willing to accept a reasonable share of the burden of emancipation, would have been fair and equitable. But no such proposition seems to have occurred to the northern mind, and it is therefore fair to assume that if "The Liberator" had begun its crusade on that line this generation would never have heard the name of Mr. Garrison.

Speculation however as to what might have been is profitless. Let me write of these things as they were. The Crusade of the "Modern Abolitionists" was conducted on the idea, from start to finish, that the Southern slaveholder was to "pay the piper," that *the sin of slavery in the South was something the Northern people were answerable for and that therefore it was to be abolished by their efforts and yet without any compensation to the slave owners.*

Slavery had once existed everywhere in the United States, but in the Northern States there had been only a few slaves because "the soil there was not adapted to slave culture." Into the South importations had been more numerous because slavery there was profitable. Originally the importing and buying of slaves was not a question, either North or South, of morals, but of profit. But later a tide of anti-slavery sentiment swept over the world, and in 1831 the Northern States had virtually already emancipated all their slaves that had not been sold to the South. In some of these States the laws had provided that the process should be gradual. Professor Ingram says the principal operation of these latter laws was "to transfer Northern slaves to Southern markets." (History of Slavery. London, 1895, p. 184, by Professor (John Kells) Ingram)

In the Southern States, long before 1831, slavery had become the bedrock of social and economical institutions, and there it was much more difficult to get rid of the fateful institution. Nevertheless many philanthropists in the South were moving for emancipation. Popular leaders like Jefferson and Clay favored it, and if we can take the United States census (free blacks) as authority, the people of the thirteen slave States had, in

1830, freed 44,541 more slaves by individual action than had been freed in the thirteen Northern states of individual and state action combined.

In 1831 "in the slave states the opinion prevailed that slavery in the abstract was an evil." (Goodell, pp. 10-11) (Josephus N. Larned, *History of Ready Reference*, Vol. v. p. 3371) (Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 54)

It was an inherited evil, coming over from times when slavery was not thought to be wrong, and practically it was difficult to deal with. How were owners to be compensated for emancipation, and what was to be done with the negroes if freed? The Southern people were addressing themselves seriously to these questions, and Judge (Oliver Perry) Temple tells us, in the "Covenanter, Puritan and Cavalier," that in 1826 out of 143 emancipation societies in the United States, 103 were in the South.

"Miss Martineau, (a noted author and traveller of that day), had conversed with many people on the subject (slavery) but she met with only one person who altogether defended the situation." (Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 54)

There had, it is true, as far back as 1819 been a sectional dispute about slavery. Missouri in that year had applied for admission as a state, with a constitution authorizing slavery; objection was made and a very exciting debate followed. The Southern people, although the thoughtful among them were not then ready to make what the lawyers call "full defense" of their inherited institution, resented this interference with a matter that, as they contended, concerned the states alone. The Missouri constitution was like theirs, and by sanctioning slavery the new state would relieve the South of some of its slaves without adding to the number of this population in the United States, their importation having long ago been forbidden by statute.

No doubt the debates in Congress over Missouri were bitter, and it is certainly true that many of the speakers naturally went to great lengths in defending an institution prevailing among their constituents; but the question, which then related

only to slavery in the territories and new states, was settled by the great Compromise of 1820. This let in Missouri with slavery and provided that thereafter every state coming from north of a line drawn on the parallel 36 degrees, 30 minutes, extending to our then Western border, should be free, and that any territory applying for admission as a state south of that line might have slavery or not, as its constitution might provide. This was the settlement of the question so far as our territories were concerned. *As to the States in which slavery then existed, the underlying postulate of the agreement reached was, that they were left to deal with it for themselves.*

The Missouri Compromise was intended to take the question of slavery entirely out of national politics and to be final, and so no doubt it would have been, if anti-slavery people at the North had allowed the people of the Southern States thereafter to deal with this purely domestic institution in their own way, as the Constitution of the Union plainly provided. And the spirit of their Compromise would have extended the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes to the Pacific ocean, when subsequently we had acquired new territory to the westward.

The great pact of 1820 had proved beneficent; it quieted agitation. Eleven years had passed, and the Southern people were now discussing in their own emancipation societies the institution with which they found themselves encumbered; and as to the thought, at that time, of the North, Daniel Webster, in his debate with (Robert Young) Hayne in 1831, expressed it this way: Whether slavery is a curable or an incurable evil "I leave it to those whose very duty it is to decide, and this I believe is, and uniformly has been, the sentiment of the North."

Who disturbed these conditions? Who violated the Missouri Compromise? If I have studied the question fairly and do not mistake the imports of the facts I am about to relate, it was the Abolition party, starting in 1831, and the northern congressmen and legislators and mobs later joining with it that were the destroyers of that compromise, as well as of the peace it had brought about.

The "Liberator" was established in Boston by Garrison January, 1831, for the purpose of convincing the northern people

that slavery "was a concern of theirs." Garrison was for "immediate emancipation," and the "American Anti-Slavery Convention," an outgrowth of the agitation headed by the Liberator, two years later in Philadelphia added the words "and unconditional," making the announcement read "immediate and unconditional emancipation." Because of this new contention — that slavery in the Southern States was a concern of the northern people, Goodell and Rhodes and all other accurate writers denominate the party now founded as the "New Abolitionists." The underlying idea of this new school was that the States where slavery still existed would not, and that therefore the general government must, abolish the institution within their limits.

There were two obstacles in the way, and two only. First, the want of power in the general government to effectuate manumission in the States. This the advocates of the new school refused to discuss. Constitutions were not to stand in their way. The second was the question of compensation to the peoples who had inherited the institution of slavery. The British parliament just about that time under similar circumstances appropriated 20,000,000 pounds (\$100,000,000) to compensate the owners of slaves manumitted in the West Indies. The answer of the American philanthropists to this was that the poor slave, and not the wicked master, was entitled to compensation.

A new party has been born. It was the offspring of a union between philanthropy and outlawry. Its platform was "immediate and unconditional emancipation" in the States and everywhere else. For the Missouri Compromise this new party substituted "*no compromise with slavery.*" Their method, as announced in "The Liberator," was to draw attention to the horrors of slavery and to "make the slaveholder himself odious."

The reflective reader will at once see that the most effective workers along these lines would be the writers and the orators who could most successfully paint slavery as the most hellish of institutions and the slaveholder as the most fiendish of human beings. In the carrying out of such a program, if the Abolition writers and speakers were only fallible mortals and speakers (and they were), there would always be temptation, increasing as passions waxed hotter, to overdraw the picture. In the out-

set Garrison said in his paper: "*On this subject I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation.*"

The Abolition leaders were not all saints; neither on the other hand were those whom they had deliberately chosen to personally antagonize. The Southerners were hot-blooded, and if the North was to be aroused from its present complacency about slavery by torrents of denunciation launched by the new sect at the iniquities of their Southern brethren, no one could fail to see, at least in part, the indignation that would be aroused among the luckless slaveholders.

The South right along, and for a time the North, with great unanimity looked on these "New Abolition" enthusiasts as nothing better than cheap philanthropists, who proposed to take away other people's property without taxing themselves a penny; and most certainly their avowed program was absolutely without warrant in the constitution of their country. But many of them soon showed the true spirit of martyrs — a willingness to sacrifice friendships, property, and even endanger life itself, if need be. Strange indeed is fanaticism!

Amid the tranquility then prevailing, the sound of the new doctrines was like a fire bell in the stillness of the night.

The north regarded the agitators as disturbers of the peace. "Good Society," etc., "opposed the movement" — (Rhodes). "The vast powers wielded by clerical bodies, missionary boards, conventions, and managers and committees of benevolent societies" were wielded "to cripple and crush abolitionists, who would persist in agitating the slave question." (Goodell, p. 436).

Meetings of Abolitionists were frequently broken up, their printing presses destroyed, and now and then their speakers were subjected to violence. But this was not the way, if indeed there was any way, to put down the new cult. The crusaders cried out persecution and thus gained recruits. They multiplied and became more extreme. A new tenet was "No wicked enactment can be morally binding." The reply to the arguments of the preachers that the Bible sanctioned slavery was a demand for "an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God."

To statesmen their response was that the constitution was a "league with Hell and a covenant with Death." "Per fas et nefas" they meant to go forward. They wrought and they suffered, biding the time when office seekers should come to their help. This they knew, or at least the wiser among them soon came to know, would be whenever a new distribution of the loaves and fishes should be in sight.

The indigation with which the South regarded the organization of this effort to take away their property without compensation, and this by overriding the constitution, was only equalled by the alarm of what soon followed the birth of the "New Abolitionists." Scarcely had the teachings of the "Liberator" been well ventilated in the press, North and South, when within seven months after its establishment occurred in Southampton county, Va., the Nat Turner slave insurrection, in which sixty-one men, women and children were murdered at night. Turner could read, Southampton county was accessible to the mails, and Southerners naturally connected the "Liberator" with the insurrection. This horror gave no pause to "The Liberator" or to the circulation of incendiary literature through the South in the mails. To such an extent did this practice increase that in 1837 President Andrew Jackson, widely known for his devotion to the Union, sent a message to Congress recommending legislation to prevent the transmission in the mails of "inflammatory appeals, addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection and to produce all the horrors of a civil war."

Nothing came of the message.

Of course emancipation societies in the South were now ended, for to discuss there the wrongfulness of slavery would have been to light a match over a magazine. My mother, prior to the Nat Turner insurrection, had favored some method of freeing the slaves, but thenceforward she was silent, not even telling her views to her own son, born afterwards, though she lived till he was seventeen years old. Indeed, so fearful was my mother of insurrections that when my father removed from South Carolina to Alabama in 1846, she induced him to select for his residence a county in which the whites predominated.

When there could no longer be but one side of the slavery question at the South, and when Abolitionists were continually charging "wickedness" and "brutality" and "folly," Southerners naturally came to advocate the righteousness and wisdom of the institution. But it took years to bring this about. Rhodes tells us that the distinguished William Gilmore Sims, of South Carolina, boasted, in 1852, that fifteen years before he had been one of the first to advocate that slavery was "a great good and a great blessing." If Mr. Sims' statement is entitled to credence, then it was only in 1837, or six years after the "The Liberator" began to denounce slaveholders, that the crusaders had succeeded in driving the Southern people to begin to make "full defense" of slavery.

Quite promptly, however, their press, their orators, and their Church had taken up the defense of the Southerners.

But, crimination begets recrimination, and excitement, North and South, grew by what it fed upon. The time had at length come when if in the one section no voice was lifted except to defend slavery, so in the other all were its assailants. After a few years of tribulation the new idea began to spread, for fanaticism is contagious. In 1840 there were already in the north 2,000 abolition societies with a membership of 200,000, all advocating the immediate emancipation, through the power of the General Government, of slavery in the Southern States, without compensation to owners.

In 1844 Texas, an empire in extent and resources, invaluable to us because of her contiguity and her position on the Gulf, and for which we were not to pay a single dollar, applied to come into the Union, and her application was denied because her constitution allowed slavery; and this although most of her domain lay South of 36 degrees, 30 minutes. And for two years longer this same anti-slavery sentiment, now widespread at the North, having no regard for the spirit of the great compromise, kept Texas out. In 1848 a bill was before Congress appropriating money to aid the United States in negotiating a peace treaty with Mexico, by which we were to acquire valuable territory and round out our possessions to the Pacific ocean. Much of this territory lay South of 36 degrees, 30 minutes. True, this was not technically within the Missouri Compromise, but this was only because the territory lay further west than

our possessions had extended in 1820. Now again, in disregard of the spirit and intent of the famous compromise, David Wilmot, a Democrat of Pennsylvania, moved as a proviso that slavery be excluded from all the territory to be acquired by the treaty with Mexico, and the proviso was carried in the House by nineteen majority.

In 1844 the Abolitionist carried enough votes for their candidates to turn the scales in the presidential election.

In 1848 the Presidential election was again decided by anti-slavery votes, anti-slavery Democrats voting against their party nominee in New York State and thus electing (Zachary) Taylor. The Tide was becoming a tidal wave, and the Abolitionists had well nigh accomplished their purpose of arraying the North against the South. Northern churches instead of defending slaveholders as formerly, were now bitterly denouncing and dissolving connection with their Southern brethren. Northern mobs, instead of assailing abolitionists as formerly, were now attacking "slave catchers," the owners who sought to reclaim their property under a law of Congress passed in pursuance of the constitution. And Northern States were aiding in the obstruction of this law, fourteen out of nineteen having already passed for this purpose "personal liberty" laws. In 1848, Rhodes says, "every one of the free States, except Iowa, had passed resolutions endorsing the Wilmot proviso and declaring that Congress had the power, and it was its duty, to prohibit slavery in the territories," whether they were North or South of 36 degrees, 30 minutes. The Missouri Compromise was a dead letter. Its intent had been to secure peace on the slavery question, not only as to our territories, but everywhere. Now it was plain there was to be no peace. And "personal liberty" laws, the "Wilmot proviso" in the House, and the votes of every free State Legislature except one, showed that there never was to be another slave State admitted. It is strange that Southern statesmen did not see it. They had been swept off their feet.

Put on the defensive twenty years before, Southern leaders undoubtedly did make an aggressive campaign to secure from our territories new slave states whose votes in the Senate would protect the rights of the South. Nevertheless the charge, gravely made, by Mr. Lincoln, in his Springfield speech in

June, 1858, that the advocates of slavery meant to "push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South," was purely imaginary, unsupported at any time by any credible evidence; but such was the madness of the times that no utterance now was too absurd for belief, and that speech was to make Mr. Lincoln President.

Southern leaders, however, had begun to see, in the late forties, that ultimately the constitution alone would be no barrier against the tide Abolitionism had put in motion. The contest, therefore, over rights in the territories, had waxed hotter year by year for the South wanted more votes in the Senate as a barrier. When in 1850 California applied for admission, with a free State constitution suddenly improvised under a military government by about 50,000 people, which was less than the usual number, and proposed to bring in a State that reached 734 miles from North to South, the Southerners in Congress insisted that the Missouri Compromise be extended through that territory to the Pacific Ocean; and here was a deadlock. Mr. (Henry) Clay once more came forward as a compromiser. These words were the key to his great speech:

In my opinion, the body politic cannot be preserved unless this agitation, this distraction, this exasperation which is going on between the two sections of the country, shall cease.

Again there was a compromise, California was admitted with all her long strip of territory, and the South got a new fugitive slave law. That is to say, that bare majorities in both Houses of Congress enacted a law that was intended to compel the people of the North thereafter to obey the constitution and surrender fugitives. A fugitive slave law had existed for sixty years, and that law was good enough so long as it was possible, as it had been before the days of the abolitionists, to execute it.

The presidential elections of 1844 and 1848, the vote in the House on the Wilmot proviso, "personal liberty laws" passed to nullify the fugitive slave law, the present attitude of the northern press and northern churches, the hot debate over California, and above all, the resolutions of every free State

except Iowa maintaining the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all territories without regard to the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes named in the Missouri Compromise, all these showed that the Abolitionists had already killed that compromise. They had destroyed the peace it brought about and they had created a sentiment that nullified "the geographical line upon which it was based." These same considerations now in 1851 made it perfectly clear to "astute politicians," as Mr. Rhodes says, "that a dissolution of parties was imminent, that, to oppose the extension of slavery, the different elements must be fused into an organized whole, it might be called Whig, or some other name, but it would be based on the principle of the Wilmot proviso," which proviso was a defiance of the great compromise.

Condensing Mr. Rhode's idea, the new party was already in the womb; and it may be added, that as the electoral vote of the North was now over 150 and that of the South 105, and as the North had majorities in the House and Senate, those "astute politicians" were only waiting the call to act as accoucheurs. The new party was soon to appear and the "some other name" than Whig by which it was to be baptized was "Republican." It is strange that this eminent and conscientious historian, after making the above statement, should later attempt to prove that the "raison d'être" of the Republican party, whose pre-natal existence he has thus pointed out, was the Kansas-Nebraska act, passed some three years later, but in this he is following the generally accepted northern theory, that the Southerners were the first to disregard the sacred compromise and that they, by their own folly in voting for the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854, called into existence the party that subsequently overwhelmed them.

The truth is that nothing was needed, after 1851, to bring about the prompt appearance of the new party but the signal defeat of that one of the two great parties which in the North might prove to be most thoroughly imbued with anti-slavery ideas, and this occurred in the presidential election of 1852. The Whigs had in 1848 achieved their only victory in many years, and that was the result of anti-slavery defections among their opponents. The election in 1852 was the Whig Waterloo. They could thereafter have no hope of success except in fusion

with anti-slavery Democrats. To help the desponding Whigs in deciding where to go, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" came out that same year, and this book as a leading emancipationist said did "more for humanity (anti-slavery) than ever before was accomplished by any single book of fiction."

It is perfectly true that the infant party, long before stirring in the womb, first saw the light of day and was christened "Republican" shortly after the passage, May 26, 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska act, formally repealing the already dead Missouri Compromise and allowing new states thereafter to come in with or without slavery as their people might decide. But equally as effective as the Kansas-Nebraska act would have been an application of a territory to come into the Union as a new state with slavery, South of 36 degrees, 30 minutes.

No doubt the birth of the new party would have followed even a dramatic episode attending an attempt to capture a fugitive slave. Indeed nothing except abject surrender by the South could now have prevented the formation of a new anti-slavery party, based on the Wilmot proviso. This proviso represented a majority sentiment at the North. The voters who held to this sentiment would naturally come together and quite as naturally politicians would see to it that there should be no unnecessary delay in organizing. (John G.) Nicolay and (John) Hay (Life of Lincoln, chap. xx), tell us of a meeting in Fond du Lac, Wisc., in the early months of 1854, which was before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, at which fusion of town leaders took place and the name "Republican" was suggested; and these authors say this was "only one of many similar demonstrations."

The Kansas-Nebraska act, in spite of the fact that reiterated assertions of partisan historians have created a widespread belief that it was monstrous, within itself embodied no unreasonable contention. Its claim was that United States territories were the common property of all the States, and that the citizens of the several States all had an equal right to take their property there. This claim was afterwards fully sustained by the supreme court of the United States in the Dred Scott case. Chief Justice Taney, next to Marshall in ability and equal to him in purity of character, delivered the opinion. But so rabid

was anti-slavery sentiment in the North that the decision was spurned, trampled under foot, and finally buried at the Presidential election in 1860 under the ballots of people, many of whom had never read, and others of whom were unable to read, the Constitution of their country, which was the basis of the decision. The plain truth is that with the year 1854 had come to the fullness of time when, as Mr. Rhodes says, "the moral agitation had accomplished its work, and when the cause (of anti-slavery) was to be consigned to a political party that brought to a successful conclusion the movement begun by the moral sentiment of the community." (Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 66). The "movement begun by the moral sentiment of the community" (abolitionism) was for the freeing of the slaves in the Southern States "unconditionally," and the "successful conclusion" of this movement was accomplished by successful war. The Abolition party had sowed the seed. The Republican party was the flower. The fruits were secession, civil war, and emancipation. The aftermath was reconstruction and universal suffrage for the recently enfranchised slave.

The conservative force in the North upon which the South relied to stay the tide of anti-slavery was the Democratic party. By its aid, one more victory was achieved in 1856, but that was simply delaying the inevitable. Nothing could have turned back the tide that had set in.

It is not to be denied that the Republican party existed only in embryo when the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed; it is admitted also that that futile act hastened the birth and greatly forwarded the growth of the new party, but in view of what we have seen, it is absolutely marvelous that a usually well-informed public should now accept the partisan statement, because it has been often repeated, that the country was in 1854 at peace on the slavery question, and that that peace was disturbed by the passage of that law. The Act was itself but an ill-advised attempt to devise a shelter from the storm that was raging.

Quite fortunate it was for the Republican Party, which could only expect to live by a continuance of the strife out of which it was born, that another exciting incident soon occurred — "border warfare" in Kansas. The exasperated South

had lost its head and tried to make of that territory a slave State. The Abolitionists and Republicans were determined to make it a free State. Armed men from both sections poured into the territory, Missouri slave State men being first on the ground. But the South was no match for the "Sharpe's rifles and Bibles" that were mustered in by the organized abolition societies in the North. There was ruffianism on both sides in Kansas, and there the first blood was shed in war between the North and South. The North won. "Bleeding Kansas" had added to the excitement, North and South, and the Republican Party prospered. When, in 1856, this party had put its sectional candidates for President and Vice-President in the field, upon a sectional platform, Rufus Choate, the great Massachusetts lawyer, therefore a Whig, voiced the sentiment of conservative people by declaring it to be the duty of every one "to prevent the madness of the times from working its maddest act — the permanent formation and the actual present triumph of a party, which knows one-half of America only to hate it," etc.

The Republican ticket in the election of 1856 carried a majority of the Northern electoral votes, but failed of election.

About two years after the formation of the Republican Party, June 16, 1856, its future leader, Abraham Lincoln, was declaring, at Springfield, Ill., "this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free." And, seven months later at Rochester, Mr. (William H.) Seward, another leader, took up the thought and said, "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

In the crusade of hate and passion that was being carried on, nothing was so extravagant for belief. Uncle Tom's Cabin was then looked upon, and, in spite of irrefutable proof furnished by the civil war of the kindly relations generally prevailing between master and slave, it is by many persons at the North still looked upon as a fair picture of slavery at the South.

Here was the situation. The "underground railroad" was now in full operation. Rhodes estimates that 1,000 negroes per annum were annually being successfully carried away from their masters by two well known routes, one leading from Ken-

tucky into Ohio and one from Maryland into Pennsylvania. "Personal liberty" laws were more completely than ever nullifying the law of Congress for the delivery of fugitives. A court of Wisconsin, with the sanction of its Legislature, took away a fugitive from a United States marshal, and then refused obedience to a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States. All this the Republican press and Republican orators, some of them winked at, and most of them applauded.

The South of course retorted. Passion was at a white heat. Northerners were accused of "stealing" the slaves they had sold to us to anticipate emancipation. Northerners were derisively called dollar-hunters, devoid of honor and of courage. And now came from the Supreme Court the Dred Scott decision that the territories were the common property of all the people and that slave owners had the right to take their property there. Instead of settling the main question in dispute and giving peace, it was met with a storm of indignation, the echoes of which rang out for a generation.

"Make the slave holder odious" was the slogan of 1831; and it was still the slogan when in 1858 Charles Sumner delivered in the United States Senate a two days' speech, modeled after the oration of Demosthenes, when the Greek orator was arousing the Athenians to fury against the enemies of their country, the Macedonians. It was to be, as Sumner himself declared, "the most thorough phillipic ever delivered in a legislative body," and no doubt it was. The veteran Senator (Lewis) Cass, of Michigan, arose at its conclusion and pronounced it "the most un-American and unpatriotic that ever grated on the ears of this body."

Sumner had virulently attacked the veteran Senator (Andrew Pickens) Butler of South Carolina, (then absent), charging him with falsehood, and this without warrant. (Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 136.) Preston Brooks, a member of Congress from South Carolina, and a nephew of Butler, knowing, as he said, that the New Englander did not recognize the "code of honor," caned Sumner unmercifully, knocking him down and giving him no chance. The act cannot be justified. The North glorified Sumner as a martyr to free speech and the victim of a Southern bully, and the South wildly applauded Brooks.

On March 3, 1858, Senator Seward, of New York, who was the real leader of the Republican party in that body, announced the following as his program:

Free labor has at last apprehended its rights, its interests, its power, and its destiny, and is organizing itself to assume the government of the republic. It will henceforth meet you boldly and resolutely here; it will meet you everywhere — in the territories or out of them — wherever you may go to extend slavery. It has driven you back in California and in Kansas; it will invade you soon in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, and Texas.

Garrison's program was being carried out to the letter.

I remember about this time to have seen an extract from some northern paper, that of course had wide circulation at the South, to the effect that the Southern people had become so effeminate, under the malign influences of slavery, that nothing could regenerate them but amalgamation — an infusion into their veins of the "warm, generous blood of the negro."

In October, 1859, came the John Brown raid in Virginia. "Brown knew the history of San Domingo and in the career of Toussaint he took delight." (Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 400.) With him for a model, Brown thought by exciting slave insurrections to devastate the whole South and massacre all the white inhabitants, but he was captured, tried, and finally hanged according to law.

The horror of the South when the news of John Brown's invasion was flashed over it, can only be imagined; it cannot be portrayed. At the North conservative people strongly denounced this deliberate effort to destroy Southern homes and Southern civilization, but many church bells in that section tolled in mourning, and extravagant eulogies were pronounced on this new martyr to the cause of liberty. Thoreau said on the day of the hanging:

Some 1,800 years ago Christ was crucified. This morning, perchance, Captain Brown was hung. There are

the two ends of a chain which is not without links. He

is not Old Brown any longer; he is an angel of light. (Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 414.) Ralph Waldo Emerson had previous to the execution spoken of John Brown as "the new saint awaiting his martyrdom," (Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 413.) and the same great author later, summing up his estimate of Northern opinion among non-professional politicians, said, in a public speech at Salem, January 16, 1860 (Miscellanies, p. 262.): "All women are drawn to him by their predominance of sentiment. All gentlemen are of course on his side." What a revolution since 1831!

Republican politicians in public generally, though not universally, deprecated the whole affair; but Horace Greeley was then writing privately, as Mr. Rhodes shows, to (Schuyler) Colfax:

Do not be down-hearted about this old Brown business. Its present effect is bad and throws a heavy load on us in this State — but its ultimate effect is to be good — it will drive the slave power to new outrages — It presses on the irrepressible conflict.

Soon afterwards an attempt was made by individuals at the South, defying Northern sentiment and defying the statutes of the United States, to re-open the African slave trade. The *Wanderer* and one or two other vessels illegally smuggled in slaves from Africa. The slaves found ready buyers in men who wished to flout Abolitionists; and worse still, Georgia juries refused to convict the violators of the law on what was believe to be sufficient evidence.

North and South, "Oh, judgment! thou wert fled to brutish beast — And men had lost their reason."

That these slave traders did not represent Southern sentiment was soon to be proved by the Confederate constitution which forbade the African slave trade.

"The old Brown business" did not materially affect the elections then pending. In 1860, the very next year, the tidal

wave of anti-slavery sentiment that had been started by "The Liberator" in Boston in 1831, swept the Republican Party into the White House at Washington. The Southern States seceded. They meant to free themselves from this crusade and these crusaders. Who can wonder at the exultation with which the South greeted the Confederate flag?

By the election of Lincoln the North had, in the opinion of the South, openly avowed its intention to carry out its own views simply because it had the voting strength. These happened just then to be certain views on slavery. But if a majority section could, to further its own desire, violate the Constitution and laws sanctioned by it through its mobs and its courts and its legislatures, then that Constitution was no longer sacred, local self-government was no longer safe. Every speech for State-rights made in the South after the birth of the sectional Republican Party, had this for its keynote. The cause of the excitement that had brought about at the North these violations of the Constitution and the destruction of "public tranquility" was undoubtedly slavery, but the plea of the Southerner to the Southerner when advocating secession at the hustings in 1860-1 was not for slavery — it was for something higher and holier; it was for liberty regulated by law, for the Constitution of the fathers, which our people had been taught to regard as the noblest work of man, the very "palladium" of their rights. If this Constitution was now to be preserved at all it was urged, it could be only by seceding and setting it up over ourselves, that we and our posterity might guard it forever. Therefore we seceded and set up the Confederacy.

So the Confederates, in the war that followed secession, were not fighting for slavery but for the preservation of local self-government under the Constitution of their fathers, which in substance they had ordained as the foundation of their new government. Fully three-fourths of their armies were non slaveholders. And the North did not enter into that fight for the freedom of the slaves, but for the preservation of the Union. Slavery was not what the Northern armies were fighting against, nor was it what the Southern armies were fighting for. This fact the country ought to recognize fully, and it ought to be written in large letters.

Slavery fell as an incident of the war between sister states that had been provoked by the Abolition crusade. Fanaticism at the North had engendered fanaticism at the South.

Fanaticism made us forget that we were brothers, and we did not call our kinship to mind until rivers of blood had flowed.

Now, however, the scales have fallen from our eyes and we see each other as we are. Mutual respect has been restored. Courage, devotion, and patriotic self-sacrifice, North and South, have done their perfect work, and it is plain that the blood that was poured out like water on both sides of the lines of battle was not shed in vain.

CHAPTER I

Organization, Ideas of Discipline

The first seven regiments from Alabama had volunteered to serve for twelve months. The Confederate Congress having enacted that no troops should thereafter be received except for "three years or the war," and the 8th, mustered in under this law, therefore claimed that it was the first regiment to volunteer "for the war." The war however was not to be ended within three years, and when it became necessary to reenlist for the war without any three years limit, the regiment was again one of the first to come forward and for this was complimented in a special order by General Robert E. Lee.

Men and officers, their antecedents, and the motives that brought them together, all considered the 8th Alabama was a typical Confederate regiment, and if any lessons of value are to be learned from the military history of Alabama troops during the civil war they ought to be exemplified in the experience of the organization of which this is to be, as far as the writer can make it, an unvarnished account.

The regiment represented city and country; five companies were from Mobile, then Alabama's emporium, two from Perry County, one from Coosa, one from Butler, and one from the town of Selma. One of the Mobile companies was Irish — The Emerald Guards (C. I), Captain (Patrick) Loughry; another (Co. G.), the German Fusiliers, Captain (John P.) Emrich; was — except a Second Lieutenant, Drury W. Thompson — entirely German. In this regard the regiment was not an exact type of the Confederate armies, for when the few foreign born scattered here and there in the other companies of the 8th are taken into account, it contained more than twenty percent of foreigners, which was very much greater than the average proportion of foreign element in the Southern ranks. But none of our companies were more thoroughly imbued with the spirit then animating the South, than were the Emerald Guards or the German Fusiliers.

One company, that from Selma, the Independent Blues (Co. D.), was largely composed of the sons of rich men, but taken as a whole the slave owners and sons of slave owners

did not constitute more than 20, or at the most 25 percent of the regiment. Certainly the men of this regiment had not volunteered to fight for slavery. The ten companies went on separately to Richmond during the latter part of May and the first days of June 1861, and were on the 10th of June formed into the 8th Alabama Regiment.

For each of these companies the way by rail from Alabama to the new Capital of the Confederacy was like a triumphal procession. The country was ablaze with enthusiasm. From houses by the wayside flags and handkerchiefs waved, and at every station multitudes greeted the soldiers with cheers and flowers and every manifestation of love and admiration. Ah, how little we then knew of the hardships, the perils and the sad realities of the future! No one of us, except (T. W. W.) Davies, Captain of Co. B, had been trained in the art of war. A few of the companies as holiday soldiers had acquired at home a slight proficiency in drill. Of discipline we had no conception, and Southerners were perhaps at that time, of all peoples, the most unfit for it. As Edmund Burke, in the British Parliament during the Revolutionary war declared it to be then, so it was now; the institution of slavery had created where it then existed in the United States a spirit of caste and race pride, that made of every white man in some sort an aristocrat no matter whether educated or uneducated. Obedience to the commands of another—that was for the inferior race, the slave. Individual liberty, the right to do as he pleased, was the birth-right of every white man born or living in the atmosphere of the South. Of course soldiering we all knew implied some sort of obedience to orders, but there was a feeling among our boys all, that every military order should be “proper,” and that it was always theirs to know the “reason why.” I shall never forget the indignation of my friend Morgan S. Cleveland, then a private in Co. D, at Yorktown, when Colonel (John A.) Winston refused to allow him, he having the money and being ready to pay for it, to hire a buggy to ride in when his company had been ordered to march to Williamsburg. What made the matter worse was the Colonel did not even give a reason for his refusal. Morgan of course learned better, and in time he not only showed himself a gallant soldier, but became one of the most efficient Adjutants the regiment ever had. Discipline was to come to us through manifold tribulations.

Democratic in our ideas, we had elected, before coming to Richmond, all our company officers, and there were those among us who believed themselves competent to fill all the offices in the regiment; and so when notified that with Captain (Young L.) Royston's and Captain Davies' companies, already at Yorktown, we were to form a regiment, the captains of the eight companies then at Richmond met to consider of field officers. Our task was easy, because there was not much competition. Captain (James) Kent, of the Independent Blues, was conceded to be a good drill officer. He was a tall, handsome and bright Doctor from Selma, and he was to be Colonel. Captain Charles T. Ketchum of Co. C. also knew something of drill, and he was chosen for Lieutenant Colonel. Captain William T. Smith of Co. G. had been a volunteer in the Mexican war. How much service he had seen is not remembered; but his experience in the Mexican war caused his election as Major, although I believe the regiment in which he had been a volunteer had not gotten to the front.

The following order is my warrant for saying that we left out of this conference to select officers not only Captain Royston of Co. A., but also Captain Davies of Co. B.:

Special Orders No. 68, A. & I. G. O. Richmond, June 10, 1861. Eight companies of the volunteers from Alabama will also proceed to Yorktown and with the two companies from that state now at Gloucester Point will constitute a regiment to be commanded by Col. John A. Winston.

By command etc.

Captain T. W. W. Davies was a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

The Election concluded, a committee of which the writer was Chairman was now sent to ask President (Jefferson) Davis to appoint the gentlemen we had selected. Mr. Davis gave the committee an attentive hearing, and then courteously informed us that he had his own plans in view and that we should hear from him soon. We now began to see that a regiment in the Confederate army was not to be, even in its formation, a purely Democratic institution.

Field Officers.

John A. Winston was appointed Colonel, John W. Frazier Lieutenant Colonel, and Thomas E. Irby Major. Colonel Winston was a man of uncommon abilities and of extraordinary force of character. He had been, prior to the war and continued afterwards until his death, which occurred about 1875, to be a man of mark in the politics of our State. After the war he was chosen as one of the first two U. S. Senators from Alabama, but neither he nor his Colleague was allowed to take his seat.

As Governor our Colonel had acquired the soubriquet of John Anthony Veto Winston, by his many vetoes. He had been a member of the Alabama State Convention that in 1860 had sent its delegation to the celebrated National Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., where occurred the noted rupture that resulted in two Democratic nominations and the election of Abraham Lincoln, which was followed by the secession of the Southern States. In the State Convention at Montgomery which had sent him to Charleston, Governor Winston had bitterly opposed the resolution there adopted, instructing the Alabama delegation to retire from the National Convention in case it should refuse to adopt the extreme views set forth in the resolution in question. But these resolutions, championed by (William Lowndes) Yancey and opposed by Winston, were adopted and Yancey and Winston were both made delegates to the National Convention where the excitement created by the position taken by the Alabama and other Southern delegations following Alabama's lead was intense. The destruction of the Democratic party was imminent. The Union of the States was in peril. It is now said that at one time during the Convention Mr. Yancey was willing, in violation of the instructions he had procured, to accept a compromise that had been offered and not retire, but that Governor Winston put his veto upon the compromise, insisting that the instructions should be carried out to the letter.

If the statement is true, the incident is characteristic. Not even Andrew Jackson had a more inflexible will than John A. Winston.

He was now a Colonel who, like most of our regimental commanders, had never "set a squadron in the field." Nor did

our Colonel ever learn tactics. He had no taste for drill and never applied himself to "Hardee." He was, however, a strict disciplinarian, requiring implicit obedience to orders, and this, coupled with the fact that his language was often harsh, with his ignorance of drill, naturally rendered him unpopular with officers and men, whose aversion to discipline inclined them nearly all to be fault-finders. This unpopularity however was by no means singular. It is probable that every commander of a Confederate regiment, who sought from the outset to enforce discipline rigidly, had at first the same experience. No colonel was ever more disliked than Stonewall Jackson, until results achieved in battle showed the men under him his real value. Colonel Winston was, at Seven Pines, the only battle his health ever permitted him to engage in, as brave as Stonewall Jackson; and certainly a man of his courage and with his splendid abilities, might well have been expected to become a distinguished officer, if only he had studied drill and his health and the casualties of battle had permitted.

Within a month or two after Colonel Winston took command, a petition was circulated in the regiment asking his resignation. Nearly, if not every Captain had signed it when the matter came to the Colonel's ears. He sent at once for all the Captains to come up to his tent.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I understand there is a seditious petition in circulation in this regiment. If I hear anything more of it, I will courtmartial the last one of you."

Nothing more was heard of that petition.

Lieutenant Colonel Frazier, a Tennessean and a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, had resigned from the old army to offer his sword to the Confederacy. He was expected of course to teach the art of war to the regiment, the Major and Colonel included; but the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel did not "mix" well. Colonel Winston was quite willing to turn over to the West Pointer the matter of drill, and proceeded at once to do it. But it was soon evident that the two first officers of the regiment were at daggers' points. One of the first symptoms of this was an order given one night just after 10 o'clock to the Captain, who was acting officer of the day, to arrest

all officers in whose tents lights should be found. "Taps" had sounded and the standing general order was that thereafter all lights should be out. The Captain, when he got the special order, looked around and found a light burning only in Lieutenant Colonel Frazier's tent, where a game of cards was on. The Lt-Col. was notified that he was under arrest and his wrath exploded—but only in his own tent.

The "on lit" in camp was that the Lieutenant Colonel, who was a "youngster" when compared to his Colonel, had been volunteering suggestions about matters other than drill, or at least giving advice not asked for. However this was, certain it is that the 8th Alabama regiment was not then, in naval parlance, "a happy ship."

Our Colonel had a temper and was often given to profane parts of speech. It was not according to regulations to curse an officer, even though an inferior. The old gentleman was, in his genial moods, a perfectly delightful companion, and he upheld always what he considered the rights of his officers to the utmost; but when angry his vigorous expletives often had a most unpleasant flavor. The writer remembers Captain Royston's coming to his tent one night after a volley of oaths from Colonel Winston had been flying uncomfortably close around his head, with:

"Herbert, do you know what the difference is between the people in this regiment? It is this: A Colonel can curse a Captain, a Captain can curse a Lieutenant, a Lieutenant can curse a corporal, and a corporal can curse a d - - - d dog."

Ah, the friction and the heart-burnings that occurred in our regiment, and of course elsewhere, in the efforts to discipline an army of free men, such as the Confederates were!

Lieutenant Colonel Frazier also had a temper, and it was often sorely tried by the crass ignorance of some at least of his Captains. The following amusing incident will serve to show that Frazier too occasionally indulged in language not fitted for the parlor:

We were on the battalion drill. Colonel Frazier, on his

horse, was forming the regiment into a hollow square around him. The Captain of Co. F. was derelict and Lt. Col. Frazier, out of patience, called aloud:

“Captain Herbert, why in the Hell don’t you dress your company on the left?”

And then the Lieutenant Colonel, supposing in his wrathful impatience that he would of course find Co. G. also failing, wheeled his horse suddenly and exclaimed: “Captain Emrich, why in the Hell don’t you dress your company to the right?” Captain Emrich who prided himself on his knowledge of drill, and really knew more about it than he did about English, replied, to the amusement of the Regiment and the discomfiture of the Lieutenant Colonel: “I did done it, sir, by dam, I did done it!”

Lt. Col. Frazier was of course an accomplished drill officer, and nearly always conducted battalion drill, only occasionally turning the regiment over to Major Irby; but the Lieutenant Colonel paid little attention to the details of company drill. Company officers were left to dig for knowledge in “Hardee’s Tactics,” and ah, how hard that was, and how slowly the knowledge came!

Major Irby had served, according to the writer’s recollection, with Alabama troops that went to Mexico. He was a planter in Dallas County and had been in the State Senate. He was an enthusiastic soldier and soon acquired a fair proficiency in battalion drill. The Major apparently never took any part in the differences that so plainly existed between his two superiors.

CHAPTER II

Yorktown. Being Trained.

The battle of Big Bethel having occurred on the Peninsula, we were suddenly ordered from Richmond to Yorktown, which we reached on Wednesday, 12th day of June, 1861. Upon our arrival, an incident occurred that well illustrates not only the Democratic ideas that prevailed among some at least of the company officers, but also our Colonel's notions of discipline and how it should be enforced. The writer, then Captain of Co. F., was superintending the landing of the baggage of his company and called out to one of his men, who was a lawyer in the same town with the Captain, and twenty years his senior: "Mr. Ross, move that box over here."

Colonel Winston, attracted by this polite speech, cried out sharply: "Captain Herbert, what was it you called that man?" "Mr. Ross," was the reply. "Don't call him that, sir," said the Colonel. "There are no Mist'ers in this regiment. They are all officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. Call him Private Ross"—a very pointed lesson as to the new relations these Democratic soldiers had assumed towards each other.

We pitched our tents on a beautiful beach whose green sward sloped gently down to the York River from under a high bluff just below Yorktown, and here we remained for months. To lovely women, whose cheers were still ringing in our ears, we had bidden a long farewell. Yorktown, never more than a little hamlet, was now practically deserted, and the writer cannot remember that there was ever the footfall of a woman in the regimental hospital that was promptly established and soon full of sick soldiers, many of them dying with diarrhoea, measles and their sequelae. In withstanding at the outset the hardships of camp life, the country boy, commonly supposed to be hardy by reason of his healthful occupation, was soon found to be no match for his comrade from the town. The latter who usually had gone through with the measles, whooping-cough, etc., had often kept irregular hours. He had never been in the habit of going to bed, like a farmer boy, with the chickens, and sleeping till morning. The farmer boys were now exposed to entirely new conditions, and standing guard at night, con-

tagious diseases, unsanitary conditions, and bad cooking, soon filled our hospital. Death began rapidly to thin our ranks long before we heard the whistle of an enemy's bullet. Such cooking! "Flapjack! was the favorite bread—flour mixed with water poured into the frying pan, fried on one side till it was brown, and then thrown into the air so as to flap over and be deftly caught in the spattering grease of the pan, when it was fried to a crisp brown on the other—this was the "flap-jack."

Our Surgeon, Dr. Robert Royston, and Dr. Daniel Parker, the latter first detailed to duty from the ranks and afterwards commissioned as Assistant Surgeon, were physicians fully up to the standard of that day. They were both assiduous and faithful, but war was not the science it has since become at the hands of the Germans and the Japanese. If ever in the future in an Alabama regiment in a permanent camp where convenience for cooking can be had, soldiers shall be allowed to feed on flapjacks, the commanding officer of the regiment will be, or at least ought to be, court-martialed and shot.

But sorrow and suffering, these were not the only experiences in the camp of the 8th Alabama on that beautiful beach at Yorktown. The soldier soon learns to turn with avidity, when he has fired his last shot and shed his last tear over the grave of a comrade, to the bright scenes around the camp-fire. There he enjoys the jokes and quips and songs of his fellows. The present and the present alone is his to count on. As to the future, who knows? Many an hour sped away delightfully while we listened to bright anecdotes by Lieutenant (C. P. B.) Branagan, who was to fall at Gettysburg; (Captain Leonard F.) Summers, who died at Seven Pines, and especially by Lieutenant Joshua Kennedy, who fell by the same volley that killed Summers. Indeed there were few of the officers who did not contribute something to our merriment and the witty remarks of Colonel Winston were always circulating through the camp.

In front of our camp was the York river, and the bathing was superb. In its salt water at night the phosphorescent light sparkled like myriads of diamonds around the strong arms of the swimmers. In nearly every company there were musicians.

In Co. D. was a delightful quartet, the music of whose charming serenades is still ringing in my ears over the waste of nearly half a century. One of the four, (Charles B.) Woods, was soon transferred to another command to be an officer; another George Shortridge, son of one of our noted politicians, and as handsome and attractive as any soldier in the regiment, fell in one of the first battles, with his face to the foe.

The high bluff immediately in rear of our camp was steep and difficult to climb. This was the identical bluff behind which British non-combatants and magazines were sheltered when Washington, the great American rebel, lay in front of Cornwallis. Very soon upon its top our fortifications were begun. Army engineers laid them off, and now soldiers found themselves digging dirt. To many who prided themselves on never having stuck a spade in the bosom of mother earth, this seemed an ignominious task, and indeed, to all it was more or less irksome to find themselves engaged in handling pick and shovel under "overseers" whom they had chosen to command them, not in such menial tasks as this but in battle against the enemy. To show that our Colonel shared, at least for a time, in this feeling the following incident is taken from Captain Fagan. The dirt in which the men were required to dig was hard, and one day when shovels instead of spades were furnished, a detail under Captain, then Lieutenant Fagan, demurred and Colonel Winston sustained them, sending word to General (Daniel Harvey) Hill, then commanding the post, that if he wanted digging done with such tools he must send down "some of his North Carolinians." The work progressed, of course, but it was a slow business, and many were the complaints of men who had "never volunteered to make ditchers" of themselves. The time was to come later when these same men could, to meet an expected enemy, throw up more dirt with bayonets and tin plates only, in half an hour, than they moved with pick and shovel in twice that time. Digging dirt, drilling in the "school of the soldier", by company and by battalion, cooking, and policing camp, kept the regiment busy. But this was not all we did. The enemy were only some forty miles away down the Peninsula, with headquarters near Old Point Comfort, and cavalry. Federal and Confederate, were roaming down between us and "the Yanks" day and night. One Confederate cavalry troop appeared to be charged with the especial

duty of bringing in messages for the benefit of the 8th Alabama. It was the "Old Dominion Dragoons," a name that is remembered to this day by every survivor of the regiment then in our camp at Yorktown. The indefatigable (Major) General John B. Magruder was in command of our forces on the Peninsula, and he had all his "people," as West Pointers called their soldiers, continually on the alert. It was one o'clock at night on about, say, the 20th of June. Except for the guards pacing their rounds and those who were sitting about the "Headquarters of the Guard," the camp was asleep, many no doubt dreaming of the homes they had left behind them when suddenly came the startling sound of the long roll. How it did rattle out upon the stillness of the night, for nobody could get more out of a kettle drum than our little bare-footed drummer (William Wanicker). Instantly the camp resounded with "Fall in, fall in here men!" and many a devout prayer was no doubt uttered, and perhaps some curses came from those who felt themselves unduly hurried, as we scrambled puffing and blowing up the bluff to the fortifications. These we manned at once and got ready for the enemy. We waited, but the foe did not come. A little after daylight Colonel Winston concluded to go out in front and see what had become of him. Several miles down the Peninsula we met an "Old Dominion Dragoon" with the news that the enemy had thought better of it and retired. We reached camp again in time to enjoy a dinner all the more heartily because we had had no breakfast.

This was the first of "war's alarms" that came to us at Yorktown, but time and again afterwards the Old Dominion Dragoon was at hand with the news, "enemy coming." During all that long summer of 1861 there was no hour of the day or night when the long roll might not, and indeed it would be hard to name any particular hour of day or night when it did not now and then, beat. One purpose of these frequent alarms was to keep men and officers from straying from camp without leave. They might be missed at roll call. The result was many a malediction from the members of the 8th Alabama upon the heads of the Old Dominion Dragoons — a "cowardly set of buttermilk rangers, who would see a Yankee in every bush that was shaken by the wind."

Singularly slow we were in seeing that the "Old Dominion

Dragoon" was doing his duty faithfully, and that this was only a part of the drill to which our foxy old General was subjecting us.

Many a march did we make down the Peninsula without meeting the enemy, and nobody can tell to this day how often "the Yanks" had really been seen prowling around, or how often we were simply being drilled. What we all do remember, however, is that on these marches Major Irby was in the habit of riding along the lines crying out "Close up, men, close up!" in a voice as stentorian as if he were trying to frighten the enemy away; and he got the name of "Old Closeup."

Portions of the regiment, however, did in the fall and winter have three slight, but creditable skirmishes with the enemy, on the lower part of the Peninsula, near Hampton. In one of these Captain Cleveland of Co. H., acting as Major of the Battalion, had his horse killed under him. In another, December 22, 1861, Private John Case of Co. I., was killed, the first of the Regiment to meet his fate at the hands of the enemy.

During our long encampment at Yorktown not only did officers cease to call privates "Mr.," but under the stern discipline of our gallant old Colonel we learned many other things about the duties and responsibilities of soldiers and officers. And now on the ____ day of ____ we moved down the Peninsula and encamped near Bethel. The move to the front was to our Colonel's liking, for he always longed to be near the enemy. General Magruder however thought the position selected for our camp too exposed, and ordered us back to Harwood's Mill, about four miles below Yorktown, where we built comfortable winter quarters. This Colonel Winston characteristically named "Camp Prudence." While here the Colonel was several times called on to enforce the policy he had rigidly adhered to, that while officers might drink in moderation, all intoxicating liquors were absolutely forbidden to non-commissioned officers and privates. An old citizen named Thompson came one day into camp with a \$50.00 counterfeit bill which he complained that a private named (George N.) Cady had given him in exchange for a gallon of whiskey and \$47.50 good money. Thompson had previously been punished by the Colonel for the offense of whiskey selling and he was now told that Cady had

served him right, and further, that if he ever came back to the camp again he would be hanged "as high as Haman."

On another occasion the Colonel having seized from a neighboring house where spirits were being sold to his soldiers, two barrels of whiskey which was to be used for hospital purposes, placed it for safekeeping in a tent with a guard in front. Two soldiers slit the back of the tent, bored into a barrel and drew out a bucketful. John Barleycorn overcame them, they were detected, and for punishment, each of them facing the other, the culprits were compelled in front of Headquarters to mark time, repeating the following:

"A. I'm the man that stole Colonel Winston's whiskey."

"B. You're a d---d liar — I stole it myself!"

And now the writer was one day sent with a squad of men to make a thorough search of the neighboring house of a Mrs. Forname, charged with selling whiskey to the regiment. The old lady indignantly denied the charge, handed up her keys and said "search." Finally, somewhat mollified by my heartfelt apology for the unpleasant duty I was executing under orders she consented to accompany the writer and a file of men in their search. At last, the unsuccessful quest being over and the old lady having been warmly congratulated on the result, her wrath, which had been pent up as she followed us through the house and hothouses, broke loose, and never while life lasts can the scene that followed be forgotten.

"I do not blame you, sir," she said: "You have apologized for what you have been ordered to. But I know who it is that has brought this indignity upon me. It is that scoundred _____ of your provost guard. He came to me saying he was sick and needed some whiskey. Because he was sick, and because he was a Confederate soldier, I let him have, at the price I gave for it, the only bottle of whiskey I had." "And now," she said — and as she raised her thin hands and glittering eyes toward Heaven, she reminded me of Charlotte Cushman in the scene where as the "Witch of Endor" she uttered that terrible imprecation against her enemies, "I pray to

God that in the very first battle in which that man is engaged his head may be blown off by a cannon ball!"

At the siege of Yorktown, his first battle, less than four months afterwards, _____'s head was blown off by a cannon ball.

While at Camp Prudence, the 8th Alabama furnished, March 20, 1862, to the newly organized 28th Alabama all its field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Frazier as Colonel, First Lieutenant John C. Reid of Co. A. as Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain T. W. W. Davies of Co. B. as Major of the new regiment. Indeed, quite a number of our men, as well as officers were during the first year transferred, receiving commands in other regiments.

Davies and Kautz

Captain Davies, who now left us, had graduated at the U. S. Naval Academy in 1856, with Albert Kautz of Ohio. They had been room-mates for four years. Davies when last heard from was in California, Kautz I came to know well, when I was in the U. S. Navy Department. He is an officer of the highest character, now Rear Admiral, retired, and from his lips I recently had this story:

In 1861 Kautz, still in the U. S. Navy, off the coast of North Carolina, was put by his Captain in charge of a small captured vessel to take into New York as prize. The prize was recaptured by a vessel that had been armed and set afloat as a man-of-war by the Governor of North Carolina, that state not having yet entered the Confederacy. Kautz was paroled by the Governor, and the young naval officer was being the recipient in North Carolina of many hospitalities when, the Confederacy having been formed and the seat of government removed to Richmond, Kautz found himself suddenly immured in "Castle Thunder" in Richmond. The Governor of North Carolina protested that this was in violation of the parole he had taken from Lieutenant Kautz, but President Davis replied that he now had jurisdiction and that the parole could not be recognized by the Confederacy. *The Albemarle*, a Confederate privateer, had been captured by the U. S. Navy, its officers were now

prisoners in New York, and the U. S. Government had published its intentions to hang them as pirates. Mr. Davis had retaliated with the threat to hang Kautz. So matter stood when Davies, now Captain of the 8th Alabama, visited his former chum in prison at Richmond, and avowed his intention to have him released. Kautz replied that the effort would be futile, citing the failure of North Carolina's Governor, who had paroled him; but Davies persisted and at once interviewed the President. Mr. Davis was firm. Davies urged that if Kautz were sent to Washington he could effect an exchange of himself for the Captain of the *Albemarle*. Mr. Davis said laughingly, that to make a commissioner of exchange of prisoner of war would be a curious proceeding, and further, that the powers at Washington would not recognize Kautz's parole, but instead would keep him, and the Confederacy would then have no naval prisoner to hang in retaliation. Davies replied:

"Mr. President, I will stake my life on Kautz. If he doesn't return, you may hang me in his place."

Mr. Davis, saying that this was Damon and Pythias over again, finally consented. Kautz went to Washington and immediately to President Lincoln, whom he found alone. Mr. Lincoln was much impressed with Kautz' story, and eventually said, "Well, Seward claims that he ought to be the mother of all the chickens that are hatched about here," and immediately sent for the Secretary of State. When Seward heard the proposition he flew into a great rage, saying that the officers of the *Albemarle* were pirates and should hang. Kautz replied: "Mr. Secretary, I was taught international law at the Naval Academy. A part of our course was the great letter of Secretary (William L.) Marcy, in which he justified the refusal of the United States to sign the Treaty of Paris, on the ground that privateering was legitimate warfare."

Seward said, "Young man, you know nothing about this question." But Lincoln told Kautz to come back next morning. At a cabinet meeting held that night all the Cabinet except Seward voted for the exchange, and so exchanges began.

CHAPTER III

The Siege of Yorktown.

"Camp Prudence," that had been further to the rear than our fighting Colonel thought necessary, had nevertheless been one of Magruder's outposts, and our many marches, though to us they had appeared useless, had, with no doubt like manoeuvres made by others, created the impression at Fortress Monroe that Magruder's command was far more formidable than it really was; and now the belief thus generated was to exert an influence over the campaign for the capture of Richmond which, with the lights at present before us, it is difficult to overestimate. Had he only known that Magruder, instead of the large army he was believed to command, had less than 13,000 men with which to defend the stretch of ten miles between the York and the James, (General George B.) McClellan, with the 100,000 troops he commanded at Old Point (Comfort), and his gun boats to flank Magruder by going up the York River, could with ease have driven back, even if he had not destroyed or captured, our little army long before General (Joseph E.) Johnston could have come to its relief. In that case there would have been no time within which to make the combinations that preceded the seven days battle in which the Federals were hurled back from Richmond. War is a deep game. To the rank and file it is simply blind man's buff. Curious now it is for us of the old 8th Alabama to look back and recall how slowly and unwillingly we learned this lesson. As an illustration of the way in which we gradually took it in:—One day, as the regiment was making one of its moves from our camp at Yorktown, a private of Co. A. who had always been on intimate terms with his Captain, Royston, said in a confidential tone: "Captain, you know you can trust me—Where are we going?" The tall Captain bent down and whispered: "You promise me sacredly that you will never say anything about what I tell you?" "Yes," was the eager and expectant reply. "Well," said Royston, "I don't know a d---- thing about it more than you do!"

When McClellan began his advance up the Peninsula we left Harwood's Mill, April 3, 1862, and took position at Wynne's

Mill, which was on the line between the two rivers, that, Magruder had determined to hold, as best he might, when McClellan should advance. Along this line our wily General had already constructed fortifications. These consisted of earthen breastworks, more or less efficient, and in front of them entrenchments, at some places, ponds had been made by damming a little stream while in front at other points there were such *cheveaux-des-frizes* as could be conveniently constructed. Some of our little army, we now discovered had been digging while we were out in front, at Bethel, or "Camp Prudence," or marching around over the Peninsula.

The right of the 8th during the siege rested at Wynne's Mill, and the mill pond was in our front. Here on the 5th of April, we first heard the whistle of a bomb shell, McClellan's forces having begun a vigorous shelling, which was briskly replied to from our side. In a day or two sharpshooters began to appear along our line; a body of these having taken position in a wood and in a small house in front of the right of the 8th. Captain Royston of Co. A. was ordered to cross the dam and dislodge them. Deployed as skirmishers, Co. A advanced. As the tall form of the gallant Captain (he was 6 feet, 7 inches high) loomed up in the open field in front of us, we expected momentarily to see him fall, so conspicuous was he as a mark for sharpshooters; but he performed his task without the loss of a man.

Shelling and sharpshooting continued on both sides by day and often at night. No serious attempt to break our lines was made until the 15th of April, when the enemy, after at first a partial success, were repulsed with very considerable loss at Dam No. 2, some two or three miles to our right.

Our little army had been keeping at bay nearly ten times its numbers till General Johnston's army began, on the 10th of April, to arrive. General McClellan's assaults on the lines we occupied, from April 5th to May 3rd, now constitute in history the "Siege of Yorktown," just as if we, who were stretched in a thin line behind the temporary breastworks extending over ten miles in a comparatively open country, with a river navigable by the enemy's gun boats on either flank,

had been beleagured in a fort. It was against these that operations were conducted as a siege. The Federal General had concluded after his repulse at Dam. No. 2 not to risk another assault, and sent for siege-guns that would make our little earthworks absolutely untenable. It took time to get and have these mounted behind fortifications, constructed out of reach of our little field pieces.

During the siege the 8th Alabama lost four men killed and wounded. McClellan was a month making ready for his final assault, and to us it was a month of trial and hardships. Cold wintry rains were almost as incessant as the shelling by the enemy. Little shelter did we get from the drenching rains, and when we slept it was always within reach of our arms. One-third of each regiment was required to be in the trenches all through every night. We dug incessantly, to strengthen our works and to construct ditches or covered ways through which to communicate with the wagons in our rear. The enemy soon learned our range, and the shells from their splendid guns burst over our heads with remarkable accuracy. But against their field pieces, the siege guns not having arrived, our rapidly improving embankments furnished great protection. We soon learned that it took some seconds for a projectile to travel 1,200 or 1,500 yards after leaving the mouth of a gun, and whenever guns were opening upon us only at intervals the cry of "look out," was a signal for everybody to get below the breastworks. Many were the laughs indulged in about the manner in which this or that man ducked or dodged. Two boy soldiers of Co. F from Butler County, Clem Gore and Charley Tisdale, were playing "seven up" one day behind the breastworks, and just as Charley, who was a wag as well as a daredevil, had begun to deal the cards the cry came "look out!" Charley, calculating on the coming dodge, hurried along with the deal and at the moment when the shell burst over them and Clem "ducked his head," Charley slipped a jack to the top and exclaimed, "There, Clem. I've turned jack!"

The writer will never forget a shad supper he lost one night during that siege. He was in charge of a fatigue party digging a "covered way" to the rear. No shells had been falling near the working party and much to my delight Captain

(Julius A.) Robbins, my Quartermaster friend, invited me to a supper of fresh shad and coffee in a cabin just at hand. No lights had been allowed to diggers, but to the eating of a shad at ten o'clock at night a light was essential. As the door of the cabin was to be leeward of the enemy's fire and was shut and there was no window on the side towards the enemy, Captain Robbins thought he had chosen a safe place for the supper; but the light of our candle must have been gleaming through a chink. The Captain's cook, John, was coming towards me with a plate of shad in one hand and a big tin cup full of smoking coffee in the other, when suddenly a shell burst just over the cabin, a fragment of it tearing away some of the shingles from the roof with a tremendous crash. In a twinkling of an eye coffee and shad were on the floor, the door was burst open, and up the road was heard the horse that was bearing John away. The laugh in which Captain Robbins indulged I should have enjoyed much more if only I had first had my supper.

The writer recently visited the lines occupied during the "Siege of Yorktown" and found still existing some of McClellan's emplacements for siege guns half a mile in rear of his breast-works in front. Wynne's Mill and the dam have disappeared. The place is grown over with trees and could only be located with the aid of a guide.

CHAPTER IV

Battle of Williamsburg

On the night of the third of May we left our trenches at Yorktown to "get from under" the siege guns of McClellan, who had at length made ready for the work before him and proposed to open these guns upon us on the 4th of May; but on that day our army had disappeared in the direction of Williamsburg.

Colonel Winston had been taken sick during the siege, was now absent, and the command had devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Irby, who had been promoted upon the resignation of Lieutenant Colonel Frazier. Captain Royston had become Major and the regiment part of a brigade commanded by Brigadier General Roger A. Pryor.

Having toiled along over the muddy roads that stretched between our trenches and Williamsburg, we found ourselves on the 5th of May confronting General McClellan's pursuing forces at Williamsburg. General Johnston knew of course that McClellan could not have already brought up his siege guns. If at hand they certainly would have been useful, as along this our second intended line of defense, a series of earthen redoubts, although only at rare intervals, had already been constructed.

It was not General Johnston's intention to make other than a temporary stand at Williamsburg, and therefore it became necessary, in making the most of the relatively small force ordered to stop there, to divide the 8th Alabama into four different battalions, detaching these to guard different portions of the line. Major Royston in command of Companies C, E, and H, was posted to the left of our line to support some artillery; Captain Herbert, commanding Companies F, G, and two small pieces of artillery, occupied a redoubt on our extreme right; Captain (Duke) Nall, in charge of Companies K, and B, was in Fort Magruder, where he exchanged a few shots with the enemy's skirmishers. Lieutenant Colonel Irby, with Companies A, D, and I, at about seven o'clock in the morning took position near the center of our line in support of the 14th Louisiana Regiment.

At about 4 p.m., Colonel Irby was ordered, under the direction of Captain (P. T.) Manning, Aide-de-Camp, to advance upon the enemy, who were in his front in thick woods. A misty rain had been falling all day, and this, together with the smoke of battle, rendered objects obscure even at a few rods distance. A line of the enemy about thirty yards in our front was mistaken by Captain Manning for our own troops, and he called out: "Don't fire Alabamians, these are our friends!" They, hearing him, took advantage of the mistake and cried out: "Yes, we are your friends, Alabamians," and almost immediately poured a volley into our men. The gallant Colonel Irby fell dead, yet the battalion though staggered did not break, but charging, routed the enemy and held possession of the ground. Captain Loughry took command, and being assigned a position by Brigadier General R(obert) H. Anderson, held it until ordered to fall back at night.

General Pryor in his report, O. R. Series I, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 588, says that Colonel Irby "fell at the first volley, that, imitating his heroic example, his command behaved in the most admirable manner, and that they maintained their ground to the end of the battle." (See also same volume, General (George Edward) Pickett's report giving particulars, as related here.

The loss of the three companies was twenty-eight killed, wounded or missing.

There was a general order in our command which was of singular military value in our army, allowing the non-commissioned officers and men of each company, after a battle to select from their number for the roll of honor soldiers who, during the engagement had most distinguished themselves. This order recognized and utilized the democratic spirit that pervaded our troops. It gave each individual soldier a voice in deciding upon and awarding among his fellows the prize of "gallantry," and the spirit of justice and even generosity that prevailed in the election of names, contributed much towards the splendid morale of the regiment. The decisions reached were always implicitly accepted. This order, the origin of which is not now recalled, seems from all that can be ascertained, to have nowhere else so faithfully been observed as in the 8th Alabama.

The roll at Williamsburg was as follows:

Private W(illiam) H. Duke, Co. A., killed
Private J(ohn) R. Phillips, Co. C.
Corporal W(illiam) H. Powell, Co. D., killed
Private James Canavan, Co. I.

The battalion that fought under the lamented Colonel Irby that day distinguished itself by its gallant conduct. It was a Jersey regiment of (Major General Daniel E.) Sickles' brigade that was in their front. The battle of Williamsburg was fought chiefly by (General James) Longstreet's Division, left as a rear guard to secure the safe retreat of Johnston's army. The enemy in Longstreet's front were repulsed with heavy losses. During the day D. H. Hill's Division had been marched back and four of his regiments were defeated in an attack on entrenchments Hancock had seized on our left. Williamsburg was a Confederate success; it practically put an end to the Federal pursuit. Their losses were reported at 2,239, including wounded and missing; ours, 1,560. The Confederate captured about 400 prisoners, brought away five cannons and capture five others which were destroyed.

On the morning of the 6th the regiment resumed its march towards Richmond and the enemy, severely checked at Williamsburg, followed warily. The weather was bad, the mud so deep that often artillery and other wagons could only be moved by soldiers helping at the wheels. To complete our discomfort we were much of the time without food. Once, on this march of some days to Long Bridge on the Chickahominy, the regiment had nothing to eat for about thirty hours, and our long fast was broken by the slaughter of some cattle, which, in the absence of our cooking utensils, had to be roasted on coals, and eaten without salt or bread. Tough beef, served up in that style, was not a palatable dish, even to men as hungry as we were.

CHAPTER V

Battle of Seven Pines.

The Regiment was now encamped near Richmond, and while here Colonel Winston had returned and was in command on the 31st of May at the battle of Seven Pines. On that morning the Regiment marched towards the scene of action, but we were in reserve and did not take part in the fight of this day. After nightfall we were moved forward and occupied a portion of the field from which the enemy, (Brigadier General Silas) Casey's Division, had been routed, and here the writer, now Major, was ordered with a detail of 300 men to look after and gather up the wounded on both sides. Casey had been attacked while his men were cooking and what we now saw in camp indicated clearly how complete at that point our victory had been. Men had dropped everything where it was. Pots were still swinging over fires still smouldering; bacon, crackers, sugar, coffee, clothing and other paraphernalia of camp were promiscuously scattered; still standing, here and there, were sutlers' tents filled with canned foods, liquors in great variety, and knick-knacks, such as Confederate soldiers had of late seen only in their dreams. We exulted of course in all these evidences of success, but it soon became painfully evident that our victory, that afternoon at this point, had not been won without great sacrifices. The Federal wounded were more numerous than ours, but though we relieved hundreds of wounded Federals, we came upon many a poor Confederate who also sadly needed our help. A brother-in-law of the writer, George Cook, of the 6th Alabama, lay dead on that field, but it was fortunately not for me to find his body. We were not examining the dead, only answering the piteous cries of the wounded that came up to us from all sides.

At 3 o'clock in the morning we finished our task. The writer, taking shelter from the rain, crawled into a little tent. Inside was a man sprawled out, occupying nearly the whole space. Lying down by his side I shook him and said, "Get further!" He was dead and already stiff. Another tent was found close by.

Early next morning we were in a hot fight. Our brigade,

Pryor's, was ordered forward, the 8th Alabama in front. There was heavy firing, apparently some half mile away. We halted for a short time in the Williamsburg road, listening to the sounds of battle and awaiting orders. The writer sat upon his horse close by Company C. My friend Captain Leonard Summers of that company placing his hand upon my knee, looked up into my face and recited, with a pathos that is still ringing in my ears:

“A soldier of the Legion
lay dying at Algiers,
There was a lack of woman's nursing,
there was dearth of woman's tears,
But a comrade stood beside him
while his life-blood ebbed away
And bent with pitying glances
to hear what he might say.

The dying soldier faltered
as he took that comrade's hand,
And he said, “I never more shall see
my own — my native land;
Take a message and a token,
to some distant friend of mine,
For I was born at Bingen —
at Bingen on the Rhine.

Tell my brothers and companions,
when they meet and crowd around,
To hear my mournful story
in the pleasant vineyard ground,
That we fought the battle bravely,
and when the day was done
Full many a corpse lay ghastly pale
beneath the setting sun.”

At about this point the recital was interrupted by the order, “Forward!” and within twenty minutes from that time poor Summers was no more. While marching through the thick woods by the right flank in quick time towards the sound of the firing, with no skirmishers or flankers out, and during the crossing of a boggy branch, which necessarily scattered our

files, a body of the enemy, who were in line close by our right and whose presence was not suspected, suddenly poured a most destructive volley into our ranks. This was from the side that was properly the rear of the regiment. The officers and file closers were therefore all between our men and the enemy's line.

About forty of the regiment, including Captain Summers of Co. C., Captain Loughry, Co. I., and First Lieutenant Joshua Kennedy of Co. H., fell at the first volley from the enemy. The regiment thus surprised fell back in disorder, some 100 yards, and here rallied and made a stand, and facing by the rear rank here held its ground against the enemy, who advanced upon us as they fired. In repelling this attack the 8th was materially aided by the 14th Alabama regiment, which had been following us and was now on our right as we faced the enemy.

When the enemy opened fire upon us, Major Herbert was at his place on the right of the left wing of the regiment as it was advancing through the wood, and was therefore between the regiment and the enemy. By the same volley that killed Captains Summers and Loughry and Lieutenant Kennedy, the Major's horse seemed to have been injured; at any rate the horse would not move when the regiment fell back to the left, but for a time stood still, shivering; and as soon as the 8th had sufficiently recovered from the shock of its surprise to begin firing, the writer was between the two fires, and thus got the credit from some of the correspondents of Northern newspapers, to which he was not entitled, of being voluntarily out in front of our lines. The writer of course used his pistol freely while his horse thus stood still, but as soon as the horse would move he turned and rode rapidly in the direction from which the regiment had come, to get out of the cross firing. I had not ridden, perhaps, more than forty yards in the thick bushes when my horse made a stumbling fall. When I regained my feet I thought I was among my own people and at once ordered them to "stop straggling and get into line." The fact that they were dressed in blue did not keep me from thinking that they were our men, because on the night before, in Casey's camp, our men had almost every one of them supplied themselves with blue overcoats; and the air too, was now thick with dense smoke.

Soon afterwards The Philadelphia Inquirer printed a letter from its war correspondent, dated, "Battlefield, June 2, 1862," in which the following appeared referring to my capture:

"Major Herbert of the 8th Alabama Regiment, was taken prisoner at this time. His horse had been shot under him, and as he fell he received a shot in his side. He sprang to his feet, however, almost instantly, and seeing several of our men in front of him, mistook them for some of his own regiment.

"Rally once more, boys!" he cried; but they corrected his mistake by presenting their bayonets and demanding him to surrender, which he did with all the grace and finish that an original Secessionist, as he afterwards informed me he was, could do under the circumstances."

I do not print the whole letter of this correspondent, because he makes the absolutely untenable statement that our regiment fired the first volley, when the fact was that by reason of our having out no skirmishers or flankers, the enemy's opening volley took the regiment by complete surprise.

The loss of the regiment was 131 killed, wounded and missing. Lieutenant Robert R. Scott of Company H, and Lieutenant John McGrath (of Company I) were among the officers mentioned for gallantry, and the roll of honor for Seven Pines was:

Sergeant Frank (Francis K.) Williams, Co. A., killed

Private W. A. Hall, Co. B.

Private Joseph B. Tallen, Co. C.

Corporal Eli Shortridge, Co. D., killed.

Private John D. Deaton, Co. E.

Private George W. Lee, Co. F.

Private Charles Hippler, Jr., Co. G., killed

Private John Caney, Co. I.

Private J. D. Garrison, Co. K.

The Confederates ought to and would have won a great victory at Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, if Johnston's plans had been carried out. McClellan's army was divided by the Chickahominy

river, his left wing, less than half of his army, being south of the river. Johnston proposed to destroy this wing before it could be reinforced by rapidly concentrating upon it his superior forces.

But his combinations failed, attacks were made in detail and not in concert. Some succeeded, others failed. Many commands never reached the front at all. What Generals were at fault is not here discussed, but there were misunderstandings of orders, great want of knowledge of roads, playing at cross purposes, and an utter failure to combine efficiently. Johnston was wounded, McClellan reinforced his left wing and held his ground. The Confederate losses were 6,134 — Federal losses 5,031.

Colonel Winston at Seven Pines behaved with great gallantry, but his health had never been vigorous enough to permit him to withstand the hardships of campaign life, and on the 16th of June he resigned. Command of the regiment now devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Royston, and about this time the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 14th Alabama regiments were incorporated into what was subsequently the historic Wilcox's Brigade of Alabamians, commanded by (Brigadier) General Cadmus M. Wilcox.

CHAPTER VI

The Seven Days Around Richmond.

When the great battles around Richmond began the regiment, though it moved several times, was not actively engaged until it took part on the 27th of June in the successful assault on the strongly fortified position of Gen. Fitz John Porter at Gaines' Mill.

Here the front line of the enemy occupied a work constructed of fallen timber at the foot of the hill on which Gaines' dwelling house is situated. This ditch was about six feet wide and three to four feet in depth. In front the approach to it was impeded by an abattis of fallen timber covered with brush and briars. About 100 yards in rear of this line and on top of the hill, which was a very commanding eminence, was a second line of fortifications, manned by infantry and artillery. The 8th and 9th formed our second line of attack. The writer being still prisoner at Fort Delaware was not present at the engagement, and copies from the official report of the battle by General Wilcox, our Brigadier, the following:

"Nothing could surpass the valor and impetuosity of our men. They encountered the enemy in larger force and directly in their front, behind two lines of breastworks, the second overlooking the first, and from behind this, as well as the first, a close and terrible fire of musketry is poured upon them. The bed of a small stream at their feet and between them and the enemy is used as a rifle pit and from this a strong line of fire is also brought to bear upon us. Thus exposed to the three lines of fire they bravely confront it all and press forward and close in on the enemy. Now there is a slight halt and some wavering and a few men give way, but a second supporting line is near — the 8th and 9th Alabama press on in rear of the 11th and 10th Alabama, and (Brigadier General Winfield Scott) Featherston in the rear of Pryor. The first impulse is more than redoubled. Other brigades come in on the left of Pryor, and in rear of where we are so hotly engaged. Our men still press on with unabated fury. The enemy at length with but a few yards between them and our men are shaken and begin to yield. Our men full of confidence rush with irresistible

force upon him and he is driven from his rifle pits pell mell over his first breastwork of logs, and here he vainly attempts to reform and show a bold front, but closely followed by our men, he yields and is driven over and beyond his second banquet of logs into the standing timber and finally into the open field. Now for the first time cheers are heard from our troops and the enemy is driven from his strong position. Our loss has been up to this time severe, but now the enemy is made to suffer; no longer screened by his breastworks or standing timber his slaughter is terrible. Our men have no difficulty in chasing him before them in any and all directions. The precision of our fire is now demonstrated clearly. The number of the enemy's dead in regular lines mark in some places distinctly where the lines of battle of their different regiments were formed. The enemy yielding in all directions loses his battery of Napoleon guns. Many prisoners are taken. We pursue them far across the open field to the woods of the swamp of the Chickahominy, and the pursuit is only arrested by night. The victory is completed, the enemy is repulsed and pursued at every point and those that escape falling into our hands do so under the cover of the darkness and the night.

"Before closing this report I beg to say that the magnificent courage of our men as displayed in this action is worthy of all praise. To properly appreciate the gallantry of those that aided in the achievement of this brilliant victory, we have only to examine the position occupied by the enemy's infantry and to recall the fact that the open field over which our men advanced was swept by a direct fire of artillery, shot, shell, grape and cannister, from the rear of the enemy's infantry and from an enfilade fire from batteries of rifled cannon from beyond the Chickahominy. The enemy's infantry, as previously stated, occupied the bed of a small stream as a rifle pit, and on the ascending ground in the rear of this were two lines of log breastworks, behind which sheltered in comparative security were heavy masses of their infantry. Three lines of infantry could thus be used against our men at the same time and within less than 100 yards. In driving the enemy from this strong position our loss was heavy, but we should be profoundly grateful that it was not more so.

"Of the officers killed and severely wounded, I may men-

tion the names of —

Capt. Thomas Phelan (Co. A.) — killed
Lieutenant C. M. Maynard (Co. B.) — killed
Lieutenant W. H. Lane (Co. F.) — killed
Lieutenant August Jansen (Co. G.) — killed

“Lieutenant Colonel Y. L. Royston, commanding the 8th Alabama, was with his regiment during the entire engagement and commanded it with great courage and good judgment, and the losses sustained by this regiment, the weakest in numbers, is evidence of the severity of the contest in which it was engaged.

“Among the medical officers on duty with the Brigade, I may call to your favorable notice Robert T. Royston, 8th Alabama, acting as Brigade Surgeon,” etc. O. R. Ser. I, Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 773-4-5.

Following is the men's roll of honor at Gaines' Mill:

Corporal Samuel L. Cochran, Co. A., killed.
Private R. T. Bush, Co. B.
Private John G. Shields, Co. C., killed.
Private W. E. Donoho, Co. D.
Sergeant J. B. Milner, Co. F.
Third Sergeant C. F. Walker, Co. G.
Private W. H. McGraw, Co. H.
Private Hugh McKewn, Co. I.
Private John W. Griffin, Co. K.

In this bloody encounter the regiment numbering 400 on the field lost 149 killed and wounded.

Among the killed was our gallant color-bearer Sergeant Michael Sexton, of Co. I. He had been wounded in the first skirmish in which the regiment was engaged. Corporal Phelan Harris carried the colors bravely after the fall of Sergeant Sexton and was, on the field, appointed color sergeant for gallantry.

Captain G. W. Hannon of Co. B. received a wound in this battle, of which he afterwards died. This officer had so strong

a presentiment that this battle was to be his last, that just before entering it, he gave to a friend his watch, and a message to his family. He was a very brave man, had never before been troubled with any such presentiment, and even now, in spite of the feeling that this was his last battle, he was cool and collected, and all the time at his post.

On the following day the regiment was engaged in burying the dead and gathering arms.

Frazier's Farm

On the 27th of June the regiment marched to the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, and in the direction of the battlefield of Frazier's Farm, and in it occurred some of the most obstinate fighting of the war. It was an attempt to carry out General Lee's plan of crushing the enemy by concentrating a heavy force upon them as they were making their way in retreat towards their gunboats on the James River. For reasons which it is not intended here to discuss, there was a failure on the part of other commands to cooperate, and therefore some 16,000 of Lee's troops attacked about 25,000 of the enemy, who were well posted in good positions and supported in the progress of the fight by heavy reserves that were nearby. On our right the 11th Alabama captured (Captain Alanson M.) Randol's battery. After desperate hand-to-hand struggle with the enemy's reinforcements; the 11th was compelled to fall back as did the Federals. The battery was left between the lines, but it was finally secured by the Confederates with other guns and some prisoners, the battle continuing far into the night. The Federals were finally coming forward with heavy reinforcements, when they were induced to retire by a ruse of (Major General) A(mbrose) P. Hill. Our brigade, which had previously fallen back, was ordered to come forward cheering "long and loudly." The enemy supposed fresh troops had arrived, and retired. Our boys had obeyed Hill's order with a will and were delighted to win a battle in that way.

This action was fought on the 30th of June. The regiment was now quite small. It took post on the left of our line. The enemy was in our front with artillery and infantry, and had a line of reserves immediately at hand. Just before the advance was ordered, an officer, supposed to be an Aide, came down the

line ordering the troops to give way to the left. Our regiment by thus moving to the left created a gap of about 200 yards between it and the next regiment on the right. The order was now given to advance, seeing which Colonel Royston also moved forward through the open field between us and the enemy. Advancing steadily under heavy fire, losing men at every step, the regiment gained a point within thirty yards of the enemy's battery from which the gunners were driven back. The enemy's first line of infantry too gave way, but now came up their reserves. Against these fresh troops our thinned and exhausted ranks could not make way. These new troops had come upon our left and having no one in their front, poured on us a deadly oblique fire. Our right was also being compelled by overwhelming forces to retire, and Colonel Royston now gave the order to fall back, about which time he himself fell wounded. The regiment fell back to the woods from which it had advanced. Here Captain Cleveland took command of the handful of men left and advanced again to the attack, but though he made a most determined effort, we were unable to carry the enemy's position.

The writer, who was still in prison and not present at this battle, has taken the above account from the official history written by him in camp in 1864, referred to in the preface. It was carefully compiled from statements made to the writer at the time by those who had participated in the fight.

Colonel Royston was mentioned for gallantry in General Wilcox's report.

The regiment in this fight lost 60 killed and wounded — more than half the number carried into the fight.

Color sergeant Phelan Harris had the flag staff severed in his hands by a musket ball, but was not injured. Private W(illiam) A. Ryan of Company E. was afterwards made Lieutenant for his gallantry on this field.

An incident of this battle well illustrates the spirit that animated our soldiers. Little Charley Tisdale of Company F., the youngest boy in the regiment, had been sick and absent at Seven Pines; at Gaines' Mill he had been wounded in the be-

ginning of the charge, and in this fight, as the regiment while advancing was crossing a fence, a rail, struck by a shell from the enemy's battery, knocked his knee out of joint, and the regiment went on, leaving poor Charley on the ground, crying as if his heart would break. An officer coming by sought to rally the boy, telling him he must be a soldier and not cry because he was wounded. Charley indignantly replied:

"I am not crying because I am hurt, but because these d---d Yankees won't let me get a shot at them. They knocked my gun out of my hand and wounded me at Gaines' Mill before I got a chance at 'em, and now then, before I could fire my gun, they've knocked my leg out of joint."

Poor little Charley, he was always brave in battle and cheery in camp, but died from pneumonia a year later.

McClellan's defeat by General Lee in the battles around Richmond caused immense dissatisfaction at Washington. He was soon afterwards removed and (Major General John) Pope was put in command. McClellan here was the first to forfeit command of the Army of the Potomac because he did not beat Lee.

The regiment remained encamped near Richmond under Captain Cleveland until the beginning of the Maryland campaign. Major Herbert had now been exchanged and took command, and we left for Gordonsville on the 11th of August, 1862. Wilcox's Brigade was now a part of R. H. Anderson's Division in Longstreet's Corps. General Pope when he took charge of the Federal Army of the Potomac boasted that in the West he had never seen anything but "the backs of his enemies," and, as General McClellan had been much blamed at Washington for being slow in his movements, this new commander, in token of the rapidity with which he was to move on Richmond, began by writing orders from "Headquarters in the Saddle." One of our wits said at that time that the new General did "not know his headquarters from his hindquarters." It was not many days after that boastful order when Pope, with his eyes turned toward Richmond and confidently believing that Lee's whole army was in his front across the Rappahannock, suddenly discovered that

Jackson's corps was burning his stores behind him at Manassas Junction. Before he could turn his saddle front about and crush Jackson, Lee was there with Longstreet's Corps to help fight the Battle of Manassas.

CHAPTER VII

Second Manassas.

Jackson by rapid circuitous march, leaving Lee in Pope's front on the Rappahannock, marched around Pope's rear and reached Manassas, finding there a vast depot of supplies. After his men had helped themselves he burned the remainder and disappeared. The next day, the 28th of June, he encountered and fought a severe but not very decisive engagement with (Brigadier General Rufus) King's Division of the enemy. On the 29th Longstreet's Corps, in which was Wilcox's Brigade, was hurrying to join Jackson, who was on that day hotly engaged with a large portion of Pope's army. Longstreet, about one o'clock, began taking up his lines on the right of Jackson, who during the day repulsed four successive assaults which had been made with great vigor, and in which the assailants lost heavily. The fighting was desperate and the losses heavy on both sides. At some points during the battle the Federals were temporarily successful, but the results of the day favored the Confederates. Late in the afternoon some of Longstreet's forces materially aided Jackson, but Wilcox's Brigade was not engaged. Jackson just after nightfall withdrew somewhat behind the position he had occupied during the day. Pope advised of this movement wired Washington next morning that he was about to crush the Confederates, who were on the retreat.

On the 30th Pope renewed his assault, and Longstreet moved forward to the attack. Our brigade did not form a portion of the first line, but was kept always within supporting distance, so as to reinforce such portions of our line as might need assistance. We occupied for brief spaces of time during the battle many positions, very often eminences overlooking the wide battlefield, but never did we halt for long. All day it was one grand, onward, victorious sweep, and we were nearly always moving obliquely forward, now from right to left and then from left to right, behind our advancing lines in the battle, but not of it. In front of us and sometimes over our heads, shells were bursting, shrapnel were shrieking, and the singing zip of minnie balls was in our ears. Some of the projectiles were aimed especially at us, but most of the deadly missiles whizzing and

whirring about us were intended for our friends in front; and yet we did not get to fire a shot that day. Nowhere did our troops in our immediate front fail to drive the enemy, until just at the close of the battle near nightfall.

It was a glorious spectacle, that panorama greeting our eyes, and thrilling our hearts with an enthusiasm such as it is never given mortal to know, save only in the smoke of victorious battle. Manassas the Second was spread out over a vast plain composed of a succession of level plateaus. From our eminence where we halted for further orders we saw stretching far to the left one behind another three long lines of blue, the blue lines flecked here and there by groups of red-capped artillery. Their polished bayonets were gleaming and their brass field pieces were glistening in the sunlight, and everywhere, above the artillery and above the infantry, banners were waving. These embattled hosts of the enemy had now become veterans. Defeat had not curbed their proud spirits. In the distance where inequalities, if there were any, could not be observed, these lines of infantry appeared to be moving like clock-work. Jackson was on our left, and along his front the enemy was attacking. At one point near Jackson's right three lines of infantry were advancing, their alignment seemingly perfect, as, with measured tread they moved forward. Not a puff of smoke obscured the spectacle; nearer and nearer marched the brave fellows, when suddenly, at a distance of 300 yards, came a cannon shot from Jackson's line. The projectile seemed to have struck the lower end of the flag-staff, in the front line. Down went the color-bearer and up went the flag in the air; but the flag did not reach the ground. Another had caught it, and as he waved it aloft the line continued forward. But they could not withstand the withering fire of musketry that greeted them when closer by. Their first line staggered while it discharged its volleys, struggled forward a few steps, and halted, still firing, then began to break by twos and threes, and finally went back many of the gallant fellows turning to discharge their pieces as they retreated. When the break began and as the confusion increased officers here and there were to be seen waving their swords in the effort to reform the lines and go forward, and many of them went down with their bright blades glittering in the air; but finally it was clear that the assault

was a failure. The second and third lines were borne back with the first, and the ground left behind them was strewn with the dead and dying.

And now in our immediate front six pieces of the Washington (Louisiana) artillery occupying their place between advancing lines of our infantry, on their right and left, were charging across the plain. The two pieces on the right and the two pieces on the left simultaneously galloped some fifty yards forward and wheeling into line, as if on parade, unlimbered on the enemy. In a few moments the two center pieces had galloped forward and unlimbered fifty yards further to the front. Now the other four were fifty yards in front, and, in their turn as the enemy retreated, this charge of the Washington artillery continued, four pieces and two pieces alternately forwarding.

Such a drill as this was in the midst of the roar of guns and the smoke of battle! To the right and to the left of the glorious artillery the march of our victorious columns of infantry continued. All along the line in our front it was onward, and still onward: At one time we double-quickened far to the right, to aid (Major General John Bell) Hood's Brigade, but when we reached the scene of the struggle the Texans were out of sight over a swale, and the field over which they had marched was thickly strewn with the bodies of New York Zouaves, with their picturesque red breeches and caps. It recalls vividly the horrors of war to remember that, as we looked upon the scene, one of our men cried out, "See, boys, what a beautiful bed of roses!"

Late that evening the enemy succeeded in making a stand, and with massed artillery saved from further pursuit at that point their routed army. Our brigade was near by, and expected an order to charge, but the order was not given.

Our loss during the day was seventeen killed and wounded.
Roll of Honor:

Corporal R(ichard) Murphy, Co. A.
Private James Jennings, Co. I.

The second battle of Manassas was the downfall of General Pope. The second Federal General had been unhorsed by General Lee. Genral McClellan was again called to command the army of the Potomac.

CHAPTER VIII

The Maryland Campaign

We crossed the Potomac into Maryland, near Leesburg, on the 7th of September, and were present at and took part in the investment and capture of Harper's Ferry.

A portion of our army took position on the Maryland side to prevent the enemy from escaping along the road leading from Harper's Ferry through Pleasant Valley. Anderson's Division, including the 8th Alabama, was across the road. From Hagerstown we had come into this valley through Crampton's Gap in the mountains, and we now heard that the force we left to guard the pass had been overwhelmed and the pass carried, but fortunately for us this rumor was never verified. What we knew was that McClellan was somewhere in our rear with practically 100,000 men, and that our army was divided, Jackson being over on the Virginia side, and that in between us and Jackson was the fortified post, Harper's Ferry, manned by a large force. It proved to be 12,737 men. What we did not know then, but do now, is that General McClellan at that time knew exactly the disposition of all our troops. At Hagerstown a copy of General Lee's order intended for General D. H. Hill and showing the disposition of our forces that were to capture Harper's Ferry, had fallen into McClellan's hands. The approach to Harper's Ferry on the Maryland side was guarded by Maryland Heights, seemingly inaccessible. These had been fortified and occupied. The river in front of the 8th Alabama as we laid across the Pleasant Valley road could not be crossed except by the single bridge leading into the town and held by the enemy. Such was our situation for two days, we (Major General Lafayette) McLaws and Anderson's Divisions, about three thousand of the besiegers cooped up, hemmed in and apparently at the mercy of the enemy. Our salvation depended upon the fall of the post; every officer and private knew it, and the suspense was awful. McLaws' Division soon captured Maryland Heights, and turned their cannon against the town. Jackson secured Loudon Heights on the Virginia side and south of the Ferry, and with other troops had taken Bolivar Heights, also on the Virginia side, when on the morning of the 15th the joyful tidings thrilled along our line like an electric flash,

that Harper's Ferry with all its garrison, stores, and supplies, had surrendered.

On the morning of the 16th we marched through the little town and halted about one and a half miles from it on the Virginia side. Here we rested until near sunset, when we took up the line of march for Shepherdstown. Longstreet's Corps that for two days had been contending in the mountain passes near Boonsboro with McClellan's forces, had fallen back in the direction of Sharpsburg, and we were going to the rescue. The regiment was already much fatigued by its marching and counter-marching, and the incessant watching, and fatiguing anxiety consequent upon the siege of Harper's Ferry. The night march to Shepherdstown was, therefore, trying in the extreme. It was tramp, tramp, the whole night long; mounted officers dozed on their horses, and the men fell asleep as they stood at every one of the momentary halts caused by the temporary and vexatious stoppings of the jaded teams that intervened along the line.

It was away after midnight and during one of the "catnaps" the whole regiment was taking on foot, when someone cried out "Yankee Cavalry." The shuffling of the many feet of the awakening sleepers gave semblance to the cry, and in an instant the road was clear. Even the old gray horse upon which the writer sat asleep, a horse whose previous failure to take any note of a bomb shell that had burst just after passing over his rump the writer had attributed to stupidity — even this old gray had partaken of the panic, and I awoke to find him shivering in a briar patch into which he had jumped from road, with me still in the saddle. In a moment the regiment obeyed orders to get into line and hearty was the laughter when the cause of the alarm was ascertained. It was the flapping of its wings by a chicken in the feed trough of a quartermaster's wagon just ahead.

Panics are strange phenomena. The 8th Alabama never took one when its eyes were open; the very next day at Sharpsburg, in the bloodiest single day's battle of the civil war these men fought, off and on, during the whole day in an open field, eventually holding their ground, though losing in killed and wounded sixty-five percent of their numbers.

We waded the river near Shepherdstown at sunrise, and about seven in the morning, three miles away, reached Sharpsburg.

Sharpsburg

The battle had already begun and was raging furiously. Our brigade was drawn up and the roll was called, only 120 rank and file answering to their names in the 8th. The regiment was small from its heavy losses in battle and from sickness, and there were now many stragglers behind for want of shoes. The entire brigade had only two field officers present, Major (Jere H. J.) Williams of the 9th, and the writer. Major Williams being the ranking officer. Colonel (Alfred) Cumming of a Georgia regiment, shortly afterwards appointed Brigadier General, was in command of our brigade.

As we were going forward towards the fight by the right flank we passed close by our peerless leader, standing upon a rock-crowned eminence overlooking the battlefield. With his hat off to acknowledge the loud and continuous cheers we gave him, the light of battle in his eye, the morning sun lighting up his silvery hair and beard, his martial form outlined against the blue sky, Lee, in the eyes of his men, amid the roar of battle, on that rock at Sharpsburg, was a figure such as no pen has ever described and no brush has ever painted. He seemed a very God of War!

The following account of the 8th Alabama in this battle which General (E. Porter) Alexander in his "Memoirs" calls "the boldest and bloodiest battle ever fought on this continent," is transcribed literally as written in camp at Orange, C. H., in 1864, and approved by the officers who were participants. My excuse for so publishing it is that no report was ever made by myself, the last commander that day of Wilcox's Brigade, nor by our Division General, R. H. Anderson, who was wounded in the battle; and it therefore happens that this report, written in camp, for the Adjutant General of Alabama is the only official report ever made of our part, or the part taken by Wilcox's Brigade, in that battle, so far as I have been able to discover.

"Leaving Sharpsburg to our right we made a detour to our left, passing beyond the town and through open fields exposed for a half mile to a withering fire of artillery. Rising a hill into an apple orchard and still marching by the right flank, we came within grape shot range of the enemy's batteries and within reach of their small arms. We moved forward through a field of corn, which sloped downward from an orchard (near Pfeiffer's house), and went 'forward in line,' on the right, opposite the enemy. (Before we had gotten into line Colonel Cumming, commanding the brigade, was wounded and compelled to leave the field.) The fight now became furious. Our Division occupied about the right center of the line, our Brigade on the right of the Division. On the right of the Brigade was a gap in the line unoccupied. (So great was this gap that no Confederates were in sight on our right.) Before getting into position we had lost heavily; Captain Nall had been temporarily disabled by a shell and Lieutenant (A. H.) Ravesies, acting Adjutant, had received a severe wound in the leg.

"A compact line of infantry about 120 yards in our front poured a well-directed fire upon us, which we answered rapidly and with effect.

"A battery of artillery about forty-five degrees to our right (A conversation with Federal General (Ezra A.) Carman* whom on a recent visit I found in charge of the battlefield now under Government supervision, developed the fact that this battery was on a height across the Antietam river.) and another at a similar angle on our left, concentrated shells upon us with terrible accuracy. We were unsupported by any artillery on our portion of the line.

"Sergeant J. P. Harris, bearing the flag, was soon wounded. Corporal Thomas Ryan of Company E immediately took the colors and was shortly afterwards mortally wounded.

"Sergeant James Castello of Company G then seized the flag. Ammunition was being exhausted and men were using the cartridge boxes of their dead and wounded comrades. The enemy's line in front of us wavered and portions of it broke,

*Editor's Note: Carman was a Colonel at Sharpsburg.

but it was re-inforced by fresh troops. Our line to the left was being pushed back by overwhelming numbers. Major Herbert gave the order to the regiment, and we fell back slowly. About three hundred yards in the rear we found Major (John W.) Fairfax, General Longstreet's 'Fighting Aide' as the soldiers called him, endeavoring to rally the troops that had fallen back before us.

"Despatching Lieutenant (M. G.) McWilliams (of Co. B.) and two men after ammunition, Major Williams (of the 9th) and Major Herbert rallied about 100 men of the brigade and moved forward again. Rising the hill into the apple orchard before spoken of, the enemy were observed coming through the cornfield in front in a strong line. Pouring a volley into them and charging them with a shout, we routed them completely. They rallied, however, and seeing how few we were, formed behind a rock fence on the opposite ridge about 100 yards distant. Taking post in the orchard, the unequal fire was kept up until our numbers gradually melting away under the fire of the enemy (Note: The batteries over the river were firing on us.), it became impracticable to hold the ground longer, and the order was given to retire.

"Major Williams had now been wounded and the command of the Brigade devolved on Major Herbert, who rallied about fifty men and again advanced to the apple orchard. Here the combat was renewed with exactly the same result. The enemy were again advancing through the cornfield, were again driven back, and again took position behind the rock fence. We retained our position in the apple orchard and continued the fight, the enemy's balls playing fearful havoc in our ranks. The flag bearer, Sergeant Castello, whose gallantry had been conspicuous throughout the day, received a musket ball through the head. Major Herbert took up the colors, but shortly afterwards gave them to Sergeant G. T. L. Robinson of Company B, who insisted upon his right to carry them. Soon he too fell wounded, and Private W. G. McCloskie of Company G took the flag and carried it gallantly through the day." (Thus the flag that day was carried successively by five different persons.)

"From their position behind the rock fence, and with the artillery across the Antietam, the enemy commanded the or-

chard. It, therefore, became necessary to fall back again, which was done by order, the enemy not again attempting to occupy the disputed ground until later in the evening.

"It was near sunset; A. P. Hill's Division had come up and was hotly engaged with the enemy on our right. (The gap on our right heretofore spoken of as unoccupied was the gap between us and A. P. Hill. We saw no one on our right till A. P. Hill came up.) The enemy making no further attempt against our portion of the line we had moved over to support General A. P. Hill's left. The enemy (those in our former front) now attempted to gain such a position as to command our left flank.

"Brigadier General (Philip) Cook, commanding a brigade of Georgians and with whom Major Herbert was now cooperating, saw this movement, and we changed front to meet it. The nature of the ground permitted us to shift our position without being seen. The enemy now came confidently forward. We were in line just in front of them but concealed by the crest of a hill. When they arrived within thirty yards of us we rose, poured a volley into, and charged them. They fled in confusion, leaving us in possession of the oft-disputed apple orchard and seventeen prisoners besides their wounded." (Note: This possession was only temporary. The artillery over the river compelled us to seek shelter back of the hill behind us.) "Thus closed the battle along our position of the line.

"On the next day we held our position but there was no serious engagement." (Note: We lost one man under very singular circumstances. He was with the regiment which was lying in its position of the evening before, when a musket ball killed him coming from the enemy's direction, but we heard no sound of a gun nor did we see or hear any skirmishing during the day.) "Our loss in this battle was seventy-eight killed and wounded out of 120 carried into the fight. After the battle, the following men were complimented for gallantry in special orders from regimental headquarters.

Sergeant G. T. L. Robinson, now Captain, Company B.
Sergeant G. B. Gould, Company G (later appointed
2nd Lt. for gallantry).

Sergeant George Hatch, Company F (later 1st Lt.).
Sergeant (Charles F.) Brown, Company D (later 2nd Lt.).
Private L. P. Bulger, Company B (afterwards Sergeant and killed at Gettysburg).
Private W. G. McCloskie, Company G.
Private James Ryan, Company I.
Private Peter Smith, Company G.
Private Charles Rob, Company G.
Private John Herbert, Company H.
Private John Callahan, Company C."

Here ends the official account of the battle written at Orange, C. H.

During the battle a Federal soldier in our front exhibited by his conduct a contempt for danger which, in the opinion of the writer was quite as remarkable as was that indicated in the reply of the officer of the Old Guard at Waterloo when asked to surrender and immortalized by Victor Hugo in *Les Misérables*. When we made, as above related, our second assault on the enemy coming through the corn field and orchard, they were panicked, thinking we had reinforcements, and fleeing in confusion soon got over the brow of a hill back to the rock fence. One of their number, however did not increase his pace beyond a walk. Marching in common time, he loaded and fired as if on drill, firing once about every ten steps. Just as he reached the brow of the hill, this gallant fellow, all his comrades being to us out of sight, fired his last shot at us, and then turning his back, slapped his posterior at us, and walked quietly away.

The roll of honor as made up by the men for this battle is as follows:

Corporal David Tucker, Company A.
Private John Curry, Company C.
Sergeant T(homas) S. Ryan, Company E.
Sergeant James Castello, Company G — killed.
Private J(ohn) Herbert, Company H — killed.
Private O. M. Harris, Company K — killed.
Private G. T. L. Robinson, Company B.

Private C. F. Brown, Company D.
Corporal J. R. Searcy, Company F.
Private James Ryan, Company I.

It will be seen that this roll of the men is somewhat different from the list of those specially complimented in Major Herbert's order from regimental headquarters, the men desiring to honor some not specially mentioned in the regimental order.

The situation at Sharpsburg, the terrific nature of the struggle, and the superb confidence of General Lee in the courage of his soldiers, is illustrated by the following statement:

McClellan's forces were to General Lee's as more than two to one. The Potomac was in our rear, fordable only at one point, Boteler's ford near Shepherdstown, three miles away. Defeat meant the destruction of our army.

Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee* tells of a solemn scene he witnessed after the close of the battle. Night had fallen; gun-fire was hushed, and no sound could be heard except the cries of the wounded, when Lee's Division Commanders came up to report. Longstreet, Jackson, and D. H. Hill, one after the other, in answer to inquiries responded, all substantially to the same effect, — "My men never fought better; they have lost ground at some points and gained at others, but their losses have been terrible and they are nearly out of ammunition. They will fight again, but their thin lines cannot stand against the overwhelming forces the enemy can send against them tomorrow. I advise that we cross the Potomac tonight." Last came General Hood. General Lee asked him to report from his Division, and he said, almost completely unmanned, that he had no Division. Lee replied, with more excitement than his officers had ever seen him exhibit, "Great God, General Hood, where is that splendid Division you led this morning?" The answer was, "Lying on the field where you sent them. But few have straggled. My Division is nearly wiped out."

An appalling silence fell upon the group — broken only when General Lee, rising in his saddle, at length said: "Go

*Editor's Note: Lee was a Colonel at Sharpsburg.

to your respective commands, strengthen your lines, collect ammunition from the arms of the dead and wounded. Send officers to the ford to bring up stragglers. We will not cross the Potomac tonight. If McClellan wants it, I will fight him again tomorrow."

The conference was ended, and every officer left General Lee's presence, as Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee now says, with a heavy heart, feeling that the next day would see the end of the Army of Northern Virginia. The next day came, and there was no battle, only a few shots fired by desultory skirmishers, and on the night of the 18th without molestation we recrossed the the Potomac. General McClellan in his testimony subsequently before the Committee of Congress on the "Conduct of the War" testified that he did not attack us on the 18th because he was awaiting the arrival of 12,000 fresh troops who came up on the evening of that day.

The writer has visited the battlefield of Sharpsburg in recent years and a critical inspection under guides shows that the field, a succession of rolling hills and intervening downward swards, taken altogether offered little if any advantage to the Confederates except at Burnside's Bridge, on our right, across which A. P. Hill drove back Burnside's troops late in the evening.

What I peculiarly regret is that no report of the part taken by Wilcox's Brigade in this, which was the bloodiest of its battles, appears in the Official Records published at Washington. No report was ever made. General Wilcox was absent, sick; Colonel Cumming, temporarily in command, was disabled by a wound before we had gotten fairly into the fight. Major Williams commanded for less than an hour. I was in command for the remainder of the day, and did not make a report for what appears to me now the clearly insufficient reason that I was not called upon to do so. A sense of justice to the command ought to have given me the courage to take the initiative and send in a full report. Having failed then, I now make amends, as far as may be, by publishing verbatim the report given above, which is official in the sense that, in obedience to the order of the Governor of Alabama, it was written in camp and was submitted to and approved by those who had participated, and

it has necessarily included not only the 8th Alabama Regiment, but the handful of men then constituting the Brigade, as showing the part taken by the 8th. The losses of the 5 Regiments of the Brigade were, for the Maryland campaign, and we were not elsewhere engaged, 215 and of these 78 were in our regiment. (See Alexander's "Memoirs," p. 273.)

General McClellan was now a second time removed from command of the Army of the Potomac for failing to crush General Lee — the third time a Federal general was deposed by General Lee and his army.

CHAPTER IX

Again in Virginia

We encamped a few days near Martinsburg, Va., some twenty miles from Shepherdstown, at which place Colonel Royston returned, having recovered from his wound received at Frazier's Farm, and now, being the senior officer present, took command of the Brigade. On the 26th of September we removed to a point six miles from Winchester, near a big spring. This camp was never officially named, but was called by the regiment "Chuckaluck Hill," because while there we were paid off, and much of the money received by the men exchanged hands in "chuckaluck," a game of dice. Most of the stakes got at one time into the possession of our drummer boy, Wanicker, who became a bare-footed plutocrat. While encamped near this spring a determined effort was made to get clear of the abominable vermin that, during the Maryland campaign, when as nobody had a change of underclothing, had attacked men and officers. The writer knew one officer who, having only one undershirt "to his name," and so disgusted with the "creepers", and so determined to get rid of them, that he boiled it for a half hour. The garment was of heavy knitted wool. He got rid of the creepers and rid of the shirt, too, for he could never get it on, and I believe the poor fellow never was able to replace it during the next winter. Alack for the poor Confederacy! Our boys used to say that these "creepers" had "I. W." (in the war) marked on their backs.

While here Lieutenant Colonel Royston was promoted to be Colonel. Major Herbert to Lieutenant Colonel, Captain J. P. Emrich to be Major.

On the 30th of October we moved from "Chuckaluck Hill" and reached a camp near Culpepper, C. H. on the 3rd of November. On the previous night the Brigade had bivouacked near the Rappahannock. Hard by was a distillery, and having gotten access to it a number of men of the 8th and 9th Alabama were next morning fair objects for discipline. When we got to camp at Culpepper that night several of those who had interviewed John Barleycorn on the Rappahannock were straggling behind.

For their benefit a guard house was established, the commanders of companies being instructed to send up under guard to the commander of the regiment every one who should come into camp after the evening roll-call. Having disposed as he thought of all these cases, the Lieutenant Colonel next morning about ten o'clock was sitting on his camp stool indulging in the usual wish of a Confederate, that he had something good for dinner, when he saw approaching him a soldier, not under guard and with a beautiful white head of cabbage, bearing it before him in his hands as he came.

"Here's a cabbage, sir, I brought you!"

"Thank you," said the Lieutenant Colonel. "You belong to Company I—What is your name?" at the same time taking the cabbage. "Smith, sir, Tom Smith," said the man, and hesitating a little he finally added:

"The truth is, sir, that I had a little too much whiskey yesterday and got behind, and I thought I ought to bring you something."

"Take back the cabbage, sir," was the reply. "I'll send you to the guard house for getting drunk and send you there double time for trying to bribe me."

"Oh, don't do that, sir," he said, "I've never missed a roll call. I've never missed a battle, I've never been in the guard house, and I've always said I never would be. Don't send me there, please!"

"Well," was the reply, "that's a remarkable record you give yourself. We'll see what your Captain has to say about it." Captain (John) McGrath being sent for corroborated Smith in every particular, and added:

"He is the best soldier in my company, and I believe the best in the regiment, always in the front of battle, always cheerful, and his gun and accoutrements always clean. Look at his gun, even now, sir; it's as bright as a silver dollar."

Turning to the soldier, the Lieutenant Colonel said:

"Smith, that's too good a record to spoil. I'll let you off this time, but remember, if I ever find you disobeying orders again, I'll recollect this against you."

"Thank you, Colonel," said Smith, "thank you, sir! And now won't you have the cabbage?"

Of course I had to send him off to eat the cabbage himself, but I watched him afterwards and never had reason to repent the clemency extended to Smith.

It is to me a grateful task to record here an instance of Smith's gratitude for this act of clemency. In November 1864 my commission as Colonel came to the regiment while I was at home wounded. Smith having a thirty days furlough to visit his home in Mobile, asked permission to carry it to me personally, and voluntarily took time to stop off in Greenville to put it in my hands.

On the 19th of November we broke camp at Culpepper and marched towards Fredericksburg, which we reached on the 22nd.

At the battle of Fredericksburg our brigade occupied the left of our line, extending from Dr. Taylor's house to the right. The enemy's infantry did not attack us, but we were shelled from their batteries across the river, losing only one man wounded.

In this battle not more than one-third of our army was actively engaged. General (Ambrose) Burnside unsuccessfully attacked our right wing under General Jackson, but spent most of his force on our left center at Marye's Heights. This latter position was impregnable. Fourteen charges against it were made, many of them with the greatest gallantry. These charges began about noon and were continued until near night-fall. Never did I see elsewhere the dead so thick as they were in front of Marye's Heights. They were practically touching each other for some 300 yards and were often in piles. On the 14th,

the day after the battle, the two armies remained in position, ours on the heights looking down on the Federals between us and the river, holding hollows and undulations wherever they could find shelter. So on the 15th, and Lee expected a renewal of the assault the next day, but in the rain and darkness of the night Burnside got back safely over the river, where we could not follow, for his position there was stronger even than ours on the South side of the river.

Burnside's army numbered 104,665; Lee's 78,513. The Federal losses in the battle were 12,047; ours 5,309.

CHAPTER X

Winter Quarters at Banks' Ford

After the battle of Fredericksburg the Federal Army took up its former position on the north side of the Rappahannock, and the two armies spent the remainder of the winter watching each other across the river from the ridges or heights that rise on either side.

For the twenty-odd miles from Banks' Ford, which was three and a half miles above Fredericksburg, down the river along which the two armies were on guard, there was more or less bottom land on the river and we were, therefore, usually from three-quarters of a mile to a mile and a half apart. But each picketed up to the banks of the river, which was from 100 to 150 yards wide along the three miles of line guarded by our brigade. This was from Scott's Dam, three-quarters of a mile above Banks' Ford to a point below Dr. Taylor's home near Fredericksburg. At Banks' Ford the heights, some 125 feet above the river's level, sloped down on the north side quite to the river's edge, and on ours to the bottom land within, say, 100 feet of the ford. The 8th Alabama was encamped on the brow of the hill that rises west of the road that leads on the south side down to the ford, and on the opposite hill, across the river, was a Federal battery, which at any time, day or night during three months, could have sent a shell crashing into our camp, the distance not being more than three-quarters of a mile. But here we stayed all the winter. Our tents were elevated on log structures three or four feet high, "chinked" with mud, each having a liberally daubed stick chimney and fireplace.

During our entire stay there was no firing on either side. A tacit truce had been established. In both armies we had learned to respect each other and to know that picket-firing, unless there is some movement on foot, is only murder. An officer of the day on one side of the river riding along the picket lines was frequently saluted by a picket from the opposite bank, just as he would be by his own men. And the conversations that took place across the river were often very amusing.

One day at the Ford an artilleryman came down to water his horses in the river, and called out to the picket on our side:

"Hello, Reb, got any horses over there?"

"Yes," was the reply, "plenty of them."

"Well," said the Yank, as we always called them, "bring one of them over here, and I can beat you running."

"You ought to," came back, "for you've had more practice than we have!"

Gradually men got to trading across the river. A little boat was constructed with a rudder rigidly fixed at an angle of say forty-five degrees from the axis of the boat, and when the boat was placed in the water, with bow straight across and with the rudder inclined at a fixed angle down stream, the action of the current impelled it across and downward in such manner that experiments would show where to put it in one side of the river so as to land it at a given point on the other. This boat was used until captured by the writer in exchanging Virginia tobacco for coffee, sugar, etc. After a time men got to visiting across the river; and all this coming to the knowledge of General Lee, he issued an order strictly forbidding communication with the enemy; and a similar order was issued on the other side.

One day shortly after this order the writer, as officer of the day, was visiting the picket line. One of the posts was at Scott's dam, and here so many of the huge boulders of the former dam were still in line that one could wade across the stream, it nowhere being over the rocks more than waist deep. Just as the writer rode out of the bushes below up to the post, a Federal soldier with trousers off was within ten feet of the bank on our side. The soldier halted.

"Come on!" said I.

"I won't come," said he, "unless you will let me go back."

When by means of a cocked pistol pointed toward him he

had been compelled to come ashore, and told that he was a prisoner, he said, "Colonel, this is not fair. These men told me I could come over and go back."

"Yes," was the reply, "but you knew it was against orders, and I know you are violating orders on your side. There is no way to stop this except to enforce orders, and you are my prisoner."

He was a big stout manly fellow and looked me straight in the face, while the tears came into his eyes, as he replied:

"Colonel, shoot me if you want to, but for God's sake don't take me prisoner. I have only been in this army for six months. I have never been in battle. If I am taken prisoner under these circumstances, my character at home will be ruined. It will always be said I deserted."

The appeal was too much for me. He was sent back with an admonition to him and his comrades that he was the last man that would ever be released; and then, after a scolding administered to my own men, I sought General Wilcox saying: "General, I have disobeyed orders." "What have you done?" he asked, and on being informed, his answer was, "I should have done the same thing myself."

At that time the writer did not suppose that he was ever to be in the future a citizen of the same country with this soldier, and unfortunately his name, if asked, is not now remembered. Many years after the war, in the hope of hearing from the man, the writer gave this incident to his friend Amos Cummings, in the cloakroom of the House of Representatives at Washington. Cummings sent it broadcast over the country in one of his memorable syndicate articles, but no word has ever come to me from that soldier.

Personal incidents like this serve to show the reader of today the singular conditions that existed in that great war, when brother was arrayed against brother. While we were at Banks' Ford, David Buell, an enlisted man in the 8th Alabama, born in New York State, visited his brother, Seth, across the river, and afterwards told me of the conversation that en-

sued. Seth did not for a moment think of asking David to desert his colors, but was full of commiseration for the condition of his poor Confederate brother, subject to hunger, etc., all of which David patriotically and with some disregard of truth denied. But Seth was not to be put off, without doing something for his brother, and finally insisted on giving him a pair of "big warm U. S. blankets." "U. S. blankets," said David. "Why, I've got plenty of them just that pattern, and the regiment has not only a full supply now, but we have at Richmond, awaiting our future wants, a wagon load of them captured from you at Manassas," which was true. We were often even then hard up for rations, but David Buell, who was years afterwards an Alabama State Senator from Butler and Conecuh, was not the man to make any such admission even to his brother.

"Blow bugle, blow, set the wild echoes flying:
Blow bugle; answer echoes, dying, dying, dying.

Tennyson

Among the pleasant memories of the winter of 1862-3 that come back to me now after the lapse of so many years like "the distant sounds of sweet music over the long drawn valley" is the chorus of bugles that greeted our ears every morning and evening — reveille and tattoo. There is nothing sweeter than the note of a bugle, especially when announcing another day to one who has been in the saddle visiting picket posts since two o'clock. Imagine him before sunrise, alone upon a hilltop, listening for "reveille" from two great armies at once. Out upon the still air the first call comes, say, from a bugler in gray, like a defiance. Instantly the challenge is answered from a Federal, then from another and another, Federal and Confederate, every bugler in both armies promptly joining the chorus. Up and down the river for twenty miles along the hill tops, from artillery and cavalry, thousands of bugles blow, some near by, ringing clear and full, their "wild echoes flying" and answering echoes "dying, dying, dying" till the still air of the gray morning is filled with a diapason grander than any ever conceived by a Mozart or a Handel.

While at Banks' Ford much attention was devoted to drill.

Captains recited to the commanding officer of the regiment in Hardee's Tactics every morning at 9, First Sergeants from 10 to 11. Company drill occupied from 11 to 12, and battalion drill was had every afternoon. Some of the best officers protested against so much drilling, as unnecessary and fatiguing, notably Captain (William M.) Mordecai, who was always conspicuous for his gallantry in battle. "Drilling," he complained, "in all these fancy movements is of no practical value. We have never in any battle had to do anything more than move forward or backward, or by the right flank or left flank, or, to wheel — everything beyond this is useless."

But the objection did not prevail, drilling was persisted in till the regiment became noted for its proficiency, and gallant Captain Mordecai lived to make a many retraction, as we shall see later.

Discipline in the 8th was now perhaps as good as in any regiment in the army. The aim of the officers was to cultivate individuality, a sense of comradeship, and to keep alive that pride which was inborn in every Confederate. To this end nothing contributed more than the men's "Roll of Honor" made up by themselves, and as the record shows, up to this time the roll had always been faithfully made out. As a specimen of the method of discipline pursued the following incident is cited:

The most common and probably, as aggravated a violation of orders as occurred at Banks' Ford was what was called "running the blockade" to get whiskey, viz., slipping off to Fredericksburg at night without leave. Punishment of course always followed detection, but the penalty had never been very severe, until one night John Daley, a veteran who had served in the British army and who was in all respects, his inordinate love of whiskey excepted, a model soldier, lost his life during a "run of the blockade." When he and two comrades were returning from Fredericksburg, Daley gave out on the way. He had lost his power of locomotion and his friends thought he was too heavy to carry, so they left him to "sleep it off" by the wayside. Snow was on the ground, but it was not considered very cold, and his comrades supposed the whiskey in the man would keep him warm, but unfortunately the poor fellow froze to death. The facts came to light and the punishment that followed was:

First, a reprimand from Regimental Headquarters, read out at dress parade, in which was pointed out the shocking want of comradeship displayed by the two soldiers, who, themselves to escape from slight punishment, had risked the life of their friend.

Second, the culprits were for a week confined to the guard house, and during this period were made to walk behind the kettle drum to and from along the line of the regiment every evening at dress parade, each wearing a barrel shirt (a barrel with both ends out and arms projected through holes on the side), placarded "Here is a man, who deserted his comrade and left him to freeze to death in the snow."

So heavy had been the losses of the 8th that of the first Alabama conscripts 300 were now assigned to us. The remainder 167 arrived in camp one evening while the regiment was on dress parade. Some of these were said to have deserted, and others had been detailed for hospital duty at Richmond. The commanding officer noticed, as the regiment was dismissed from parade, that these newcomers, still in line awaiting orders, were greeted by the old soldiers as they passed with many terms of derision. He thereupon made a short speech to the new men, endeavoring to encourage them, promising that they should hereafter be on just the same footing as the veterans, pointing out that while they had, all of them no doubt, what they deemed good reasons for not volunteering, that they had all obeyed the laws of their country in now coming to the front; that obedience to law was the very highest virtues, etc. Finally, he told them that jesting was a part of camp life and that soldiers must learn to give and take, but that if at any time any one of them should feel that he ought to defend himself against a gross insult he, the commanding officer, would see to it that the offended man should have a fair fight; but, he continued, "if you will only show that you mean to do your duty as soldiers, all the regiment will welcome you and help you."

The conscripts were distributed among the companies; there was no friction, and most of the new men made good soldiers. After the coming battle of Salem Church the writer had the pleasure of complimenting them in a special order read out at dress parade.

The regiment did hard work in the winter and spring of 1862 and '63 at Banks' Ford. Our Brigade was here in the front, all the time doing all the picket duty along that portion of the line; but we were not without our pleasures. None of us will ever forget the jolly times we had around the camp-fire. Card playing was of course a common amusement, and this suggests the thought that, amid the plentiful lack of other things there always, strangely enough, seemed to be a plentiful supply of playing cards in the Confederacy. But soldiers were singularly unwilling to go into battle with playing cards on them. The pathway of every command going into a fight was always strewn with cards, but once a few days in camp, and cards were again abundant.

CHAPTER XI

The Battle of Salem Church

General E. P(orter) Alexander once told the writer that he knew of no instance in which so few troops had won a victory so important as that at Salem Church, the result of which was to save Lee's army from an assault in the rear by at least some 20,000 fresh troops under (General John) Sedgwick — an assault that had it not been arrested might have turned the victory of Chancellorsville into a defeat.

To appreciate the importance of this engagement the situation should be understood.

The Rappahannock above Fredericksburg trends southeast, until it turns, half a mile above the town, to the southward. From Fredericksburg the plank road runs straight out in a westerly course to Orange Ch. H. On May 3rd, (Major General Joseph) Hooker who, with his army, had all the winter confronted Lee from Banks' Ford twenty miles down the river, had already by a clever "pas" moved the bulk of his army across the river some twelve to eighteen miles above Fredericksburg, thus securing a position to the rear of Lee's left and closer to Richmond than we were; and he had left Sedgwick with 30,000 men still opposite Fredericksburg to cross and attack Lee in his rear, if Lee should dare to fight at or near Chancellorsville. Lee's situation when he found that Hooker was to his left and in his rear, was critical. But leaving (Lieutenant General Jubal A.) Early with about 7,000 men to guard the river, opposite Fredericksburg and below, and Wilcox's Brigade on guard for three miles above, General Lee had swiftly moved with a portion of his army to confront Hooker at Chancellorsville, and had detached Jackson to make his celebrated attack on Hooker's right. Hooker had divided his army into two parts, and Lee had divided his into three; one, Early and Wilcox, to guard the crossing near Fredericksburg, another under himself to confront Hooker at Chancellorsville, the third under Jackson to swing around on Hooker's right flank. This remarkable division of his forces was in the presence of an enemy who had more than two men to his one. Jackson's attack had been successful, Hooker's right wing had been doubled back on his main body;

but that main body, larger than Lee's whole army, was in its breastwork in the Wilderness in front of Lee who was then near Chancellorsville, Hooker's Head Quarters, when on the morning of the 3rd of May Sedgwick, having crossed the river, had, after two repulses succeeded in capturing Marye's Heights in front of Fredericksburg, with a number of prisoners and 7 pieces of artillery. (Brigadier General William) Barksdale's Brigade and (Brigadier General Harry T.) Hays' Brigade of Early's Division now retreated from their position near Fredericksburg south to the Telegraph Road in the direction where Early was, leaving Sedgwick in possession of the Fredericksburg end of the plank road, which opened a straight line to the rear of such of Lee's forces as confronted Hooker, ten miles away at Chancellorsville. There was nobody now to prevent Sedgwick's Corps from marching along this road to Lee's rear except Wilcox, with only one Brigade, four pieces of (Captain John W.) Lewis' battery and about 50 cavalry. The Brigade, as stated, had been guarding Banks' Ford $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles northwest of Fredericksburg, and General Wilcox, when notified of the attack on Marye's Heights, had marched towards the fight. But when he neared Fredericksburg he found the enemy already in possession of the Heights. To delay them we were put into line with skirmishers in front, and with our artillery in place, two pieces on each flank. The enemy advanced a heavy line of infantry with skirmishers in front and 6 pieces of artillery; and now in the first skirmish that followed, near Stansbury's house, the gallant Captain (Robert A.) McCrary of Co. D., with two or three men had already fallen when General Wilcox discovered a heavy body of the enemy advancing up the plank road, which was still far to our right (fronted as we then were) to surround us here in the bend of the river. This discovery was followed by a prompt order to withdraw. While in sight of the enemy we retreated in common time, but very soon a wood that was on our left as we fell back obscuring us from view, we made double quick time. General Wilcox in his report of this battle (O. R. Series I, Vol. XXV, Part I, pp. 854-861) does not mention our accelerated movement, but it is a fact that never were legs more valuable than when we were making a straight line for a point on the plank road some three-quarters of a mile beyond where were our friends, the enemy. We reached "the plank" and stopped to get breath. Soon we continued up on "the plank" road to Salem Church, where General

Wilcox selected a position for battle. Wilcox had previously sent Major (Charles R.) Collins with his 40 or 50 troopers of the 15th Virginia Cavalry down the plank road with instructions to dismount his men and deploy them as skirmishers to delay the enemy's advance. This duty, handsomely done, had given us time to do our double-quicking and reach the plank road. Before Major Collins had recalled his skirmishers, in order to secure time for the arrival of reinforcements that General Lee had been asked for we were marched back from the Church towards the enemy, say twelve hundred yards or more, to the toll-gate on the plank road. Here we were aligned across the road and with our skirmishers well out in front and firing and our four pieces playing on the enemy, we secured a further delay of say a half hour or more. General Wilcox now learned that General Lee had sent three Brigades to our aid and with the enemy still not close enough to seriously annoy us, we faced about and marched to the position near the Church which we were to occupy during the coming battle.

Disposition of Troops

It is not in the scope of my present work to give complete descriptions of battles, but an exception is made as to Salem Church because of its importance and because "the attack being directed *mainly against General Wilcox*, but partially involving the Brigades on his left." (General R. E. Lee's Report, O. R. Series I, Vol. XXV, Part I.)

Salem Church is on a slight eminence, generally called in the Federal Reports "Salem Heights," sloping gently down towards Fredericksburg. A wood surrounded the church and grew thicker as it extended down the slope for about 200 yards to where open fields stretched away, uninterrupted for quite a distance, except by Guest's house, say a mile away. The woods around the church stretched far away to both right and the left, so concealing the troops that had come to our assistance as to lead the enemy to believe that nobody was between them and Lee's rear except Wilcox's Brigade, a few cavalrymen and four pieces of artillery. A fourth Brigade came down to aid us if necessary, about the time the battle began and this Brigade was placed on the extreme right, but the two Brigades on our

right were not engaged in the coming battle, nor were they even within sight of the enemy.

The enemy began by stationing artillery about fourteen hundred yards away, and shelled ours until Lewis' four pieces had exhausted their ammunition and retired. Then they shelled vigorously the woods, right and left, but we were lying down and received no injury. And now the infantry came forward.

Our troops had been placed as follows: The plank road runs east and west, with the Church close to the road and a schoolhouse 30 yards in front (east). The 10th Alabama with its left resting on the Church, was south (to our right) of the road; the 8th was on the right of the 10th, and the 9th in reserve, with one of its companies in the schoolhouse and another in the church. On the north side of the road (our left) were, first, the 11th and then the 14th Alabama, with (Brigadier General Paul J.) Semmes on the left of that, and (Brigadier General William) Mahone's occupying our extreme left. (Brigadier General Joseph B.) Kershaw's Brigade was on the right of ours, and later (Brigadier General William T.) Wofford's came up and took a position on the right of Kershaw, but both these Brigades were in the woods and unseen by the enemy, and neither of them fired a gun. They were not in the line of attack.

The disposition of the Federal forces I take from Series I, Vol. XXV, Part I, O. R., citing that volume simply by pages for both Federal and Confederate reports.

General Sedgwick, commanding the Federal forces, says (p. 559): "(Major General William T. H.) Brooks' Division formed rapidly across the road and (Major General John) Newton's upon the right."

Sedgwick had taken account of our strength when we were drawn up in the open field before him, near the toll-gate; he saw too the front we covered as we drew back into the woods, and now to cover this front he formed triple lines, extending part of Newton's force beyond the left of our Brigade, fully expecting it to meet no enemy and to overlap and flank us. Fortunately for us, this force found Semmes in its front, and what must have been a small portion of it encountered some of Mahone's Brigade.

General W. T. H. Brooks, commanding the First Division, says (p. 568) he placed on the south of the road, our right, the 5th Maine, 16th New York, 121st New York and 96th Pennsylvania, of his 2nd Brigade, and the 2nd New Jersey and 23rd New Jersey of his 1st Brigade — all together six regiments. But the Colonel of one of these regiments, (Colonel Joel J.) Seaver, 16th New York, (p. 586) says that while he was for a time on the south side of the road he was later ordered to the north side and advanced in the woods there. This left five regiments of Brooks' Division south of the road. The 98th Pennsylvania and 62nd New York of Newton's Division were, however, also on the south side of the road (Brigadier) General (Frank) Wheaton's Report, (p. 618). To these seven attacking regiments which on the south side of the road attacked the 8th and 10th Alabama which were supported by the 9th, should probably be added two regiments from the 2nd Brigade of Newton's Division, commanded by Colonel William H. Brown, but in the absence of any report from him or General Newton this is left in doubt by the report of Colonel Horatio Rogers, 2nd Rhode Island (p. 614).

On the north side of the road, our left, there were, of Brooks' Division, the 1st, 2nd and 15th New Jersey, 95th and 119th Pennsylvania, making 5 regiments; with the 16th New York added, six. Add also three regiments of General Wheaton's Brigade, two of Newton's Division (Wheaton's Report, p. 617), making altogether 12 regiments attacking the front occupied by the 11th and 14th Alabama, Semmes' Brigade, and partially Mahone's. One of these attacking regiments, the 15th New Jersey, under Colonel (William H.) Penrose (p. 574) was ordered to the extreme right of the Federals "to turn the left" of the Confederates. Probably this regiment attacked Mahone.

The Union troops were in high spirits. Hooker, they understood, had been successful, they had themselves just captured Marye's Heights with seven pieces of artillery, and Wilcox's Brigade, that had retreated before them for 2½ miles, they were now about to brush away or destroy. As Sedgwick told Guest at his farmhouse, where he made his headquarters, now they "were after 'Cadmus' (Cadmus Wilcox) and we're going to pick him up."

Bravely, with banners flying, their lines come forward,

their alignment perfect. As they advance, we have no artillery to check them, for our four pieces have already withdrawn for want of ammunition. Our skirmishers at the edge of the woods retire before them. Now they near the little schoolhouse whose doors and windows are shut. A rush is made for its shelter. From the cracks between the logs, made by knocking out the chinking, shoots a deadly flame of fire. A gigantic Lieutenant in the effort to batter down the door, falls across the steps, — a musket ball coming through the panel has pierced his heart. But the brave fellows in blue are too many for the boys in the little log hut. They push forward, they crowd around the house, and for a few moments the inmates are prisoners. Still the assailants press forward until at some points they are 40 and at others only 30 yards away, and then a volley makes great gaps in their ranks. The firing now extends from our right front far away to the left. The enemy return our fire first by volley and then promiscuously. In the first firing Colonel Royston is badly wounded, and the command of the 8th devolves upon Lieutenant Colonel Herbert. For a few moments everywhere along the line the enemy are staggered, but in our front do not retreat. The battle seems hanging in the balance, and the second line of the enemy, pressing close behind the first, near the Church, the momentum is such as to break our lines. The 10th Alabama is forced back upon the 8 companies of the 9th, that lie some 30 yards behind. The 121st New York has passed the left of the 8th. But the 8th Alabama stands fast. The enemy in its front is held at bay, while its three left companies under order make a backward half wheel and fire down the line of the New York regiment that is passing its left.

The slaughter of this advancing line of the enemy is terrible, for the 9th Alabama has risen from the ground and with the 10th, which has much of it rallied upon the 9th, is mowing down the enemy by a fire in front while the three left companies of the 8th are firing into their flank. The 9th rushes forward with a yell and in less than five minutes after our line is broken the enemy are in full retreat, leaving the extreme point to which they had gotten beyond the Church distinctly marked with their dead and wounded lying in a line. There have been no orders from General Wilcox to charge, unless perhaps to the 9th to restore our lines, but when the gallant 9th comes forward with a shout it cannot be expected to stop at the old lines, and on it goes.

Lieutenant Colonel Herbert instantly orders forward the 8th. Soon the whole Brigade is advancing and with it two regiments of Semmes'. Forward we rush through the woods, and into the fields, driving the enemy's lines over one another, and as they mingle pell mell in the open field, high above the Confederate yell are heard the voices of officers and men shouting, "take good aim, boys!" "Hold your muskets level, and you'll get a Yank!"

The carnage was awful. The enemy were in confusion, fleeing for their lives, and all the efforts made by their gallant officers to keep them in line were unavailing. We followed them beyond the woods till we had neared the toll gate and they had reached their reserves of infantry and artillery. These of course we were not in sufficient force to attack even if daylight had permitted, and we are ordered back, the enemy making no attempt to follow. Two of Semmes' regiments, the 10th and 51st Georgia, had charged with us.

The following is from the interesting report of Federal Division Commander, General Brooks:

Immediately upon entering the dense growth of shrubs and trees which concealed the enemy, our troops were met by a heavy and incessant fire of musketry, yet our lines advanced until they reached the crest of the hill in the outer skirts of the woods *where meeting with and being attacked by fresh superior members of the enemy* our forces were finally compelled to withdraw.

The only fresh troops they met were 8 companies of the 9th Alabama, not numbering more than 225 men.

Major General Brooks further says: "In this brief but sanguinary conflict this (his) Division lost nearly 1,500 men and officers."

General Wilcox reports (p. 861) that the Brigade buried on our front 248; that 189 wounded were left in our hands, and that we captured 3 flags.

Our losses while in pursuit were very few indeed. Besides

the wounded lying thick along our way prisoners were taken in the woods and in the gulleys in the open field.

Many of the Federal officers in their reports say the Confederates were strongly entrenched. General Wheaton says (p. 617) that we were not only entrenched but had abattis in front of our entrenchments. But there is no truth whatever in either of these statements. It was an impromptu battle. Our lines were suddenly formed at a point where no fight had been anticipated or prepared for. The next morning after the fight of the 3rd, thinking the enemy might attack again, we dug rifle pits with bayonets the men scraping up the earth with their tin plates.

Brooks' Division had four batteries of artillery under Colonel John A. Tompkins, and Newton's Division, three under Captain Jeremiah McCartney; which, counting six pieces to the battery, would aggregate 42 guns. Only three of these batteries, were actively engaged. (Lieutenant Edward D.) Williston's, (Captain James H.) Rigby's and (Captain William) Hexamer's. One section of Hexamer's was across the plank road, the other two sections to the left. Rigby's and Hexamer's were on the right of the road, says Colonel Tompkins (p. 566). This artillery officer's report is instructive in some respects, however erroneous in others. He says the infantry advanced:

and after a severe contest, reached the crest, held it a few moments and then being *greatly outnumbered*, was forced to retire. *It came out of the woods, many of the regiments in great confusion, closely followed by the enemy.* Already had the batteries opened fire over the heads of the retiring troops, firing slowly at first, and as the enemy attempted to follow our troops, out of the wood, rapidly, Williston, using cannister. The enemy was checked and driven back by this fire. *The infantry formed behind the batteries*, advanced, entering the wood, and held the position until darkness ended the conflict.

Colonel Tompkins' report is correct in showing that the infantry never reformed until they got behind the batteries, but his artillery did us little or no damage. We were called off

as the fugitives were reaching and forming behind the batteries. Prior to that time Colonel Tompkins' guns could not fire because his own men were in the way, we closely following; and as for his stating that he fired over the heads of the infantry, the nature of the ground, which from the woods out was nearly level, rendered this impossible. When we reached our positions on returning, it was so dark that the artillery fire was wild, as well as scant. General Brooks corroborates Colonel Tompkins' statement about rallying on the artillery. In his report (p. 568) he says "The lines were re-established near the batteries of Rigsby, (Captain Augustus N.) Parsons and Williston."

Colonel Tompkins is glaringly incorrect in the statement that the Federals afterwards advanced and entered the woods, or that they held this position when dark came. General Wilcox correctly says:

The pursuit was continued as far as the toll gate. Semmes' Brigade (only two regiments) and my own were the only troops that followed the retreating enemy. In the rear of the gate were the heavy reserve of the enemy. *Our men were now halted and reformed*, it being quite dark, and retired, not pursued by the enemy, *leaving pickets to the front in the open field.*

General Semmes (p. 835) says "the brunt of the battle" fell on his Brigade, but he shows that only two of his regiments, the 10th and 51st Georgia, participated in the countercharge, and this he himself says was "in support of a charge made by one or more of Wilcox's regiments." He had sent orders, he says, to two other regiments to charge, but the orders did not reach them. If they had been as closely engaged as we were, the gallant Georgians would, like us, have needed no orders from their General to follow the retreating enemy.

General Lee was with us at Salem Church on the next morning after the battle and went over the lines. He had too of course received all the reports of his subordinates before he made his report, September 21st, and in this report he disposes of the claim of General Semmes that "the brunt of the battle fell" on his Brigade as follows:

The enemy's artillery played vigorously upon our position for some time, when his infantry advanced in

three strong lines, the *attack being directed mainly against General Wilcox, but partially involving the* brigades on his left. The assault was made with the utmost firmness and after a fierce struggle with the first line was repulsed with great slaughter. The second then came forward but immediately broke under the close and deadly fire which it encountered, and the whole mass fled in confusion to the rear. They were pursued by the Brigades of Wilcox and Semmes (only two regiments of Semmes') which advanced nearly a mile when they were halted to reform in the presence of the enemy's reserve, which now appeared in large force. It being quite dark, *General Wilcox* deemed it imprudent to push the attack with his small numbers and retired to his original position, *the enemy making no attempt to follow.*

O. R. Vol. XXV, Part I, p. 811

It was the 121st New York under Colonel (Emory) Upton, with supports behind it, that broke through our lines, driving the 10th Alabama back for a time upon the 9th, and this gallant Colonel in his report (p. 589) is the only Federal officer who does not claim that we had overwhelming forces that came to our help. He says: "The enemy opposite the centre and left wing broke, but rallied again 20 to 30 yards to his rear."

So far from seeing "overwhelming numbers" that were not there, as did many others, Colonel Upton did not even see the 8 companies of the 9th, upon which the 10th rallied, and these constituted our only "reinforcement." The 8 companies of the 9th Alabama did not probably number over 200, as the 9th was our smallest regiment. The 8th Alabama was subjected to the supreme test of courage and discipline when it stood fast and held the enemy in its front at bay, while its three left companies made a half wheel and fired down the flank of a line *passing the regiment only a few feet away.* It was this flank fire and the simultaneous fire received in its front by Colonel Upton's regiment that strewed the ground with a long line of gallant New Yorkers. The loss of the 121st New York was the heaviest sustained by any of the attacking force—269 out of 523—and most of the loss occurred just there. The 96th Pennsylvania was in front of the 8th (Colonel Upton's report) and

supporting the 96th Pennsylvania was the 5th Maine (Colonel (Oliver E.) Edwards' report, p. 584). What other regiments the 8th encountered later is not clear.

The counter-charge of our line began when the 9th Alabama rose from the ground where it had been lying, and with much of the 10th Alabama aiding it rushed forward. As they reached our line the 8th Alabama went with them. We drove the enemy with a yell that made the woods ring, and the charge was taken up successively along the line until it embraced the whole of Wilcox's Brigade and the two regiments of Semmes'. General Wheaton, who was near to and on the north side of the road, says (p. 618) that before the 93rd and 102nd Pennsylvania engaged there, "were pushed back the troops on their left were driven towards us in confusion." These were the troops that, in the language of General Lee, "drove the enemy nearly a mile."

Shoes, that were much needed, were among our spoils. An officer reported that during that night, while searching the woods for the wounded, he found "Old Robinson," an Irishman of Company A, sitting on the ground by the side of a badly wounded Federal officer, quietly smoking his pipe.

"What are you doing here, Robinson?"

The gruesome reply was: "I'm waiting on this man here. We's got a bit of a job to do. I took him for a dead one, and was after pulling his boots off of him, when he said he was dyin' and asked me to wait till he was dead. And, faith, he's very slow about it!"

We buried the Federal dead in a long trench near the Church, and allowed General Sedgwick to send surgeons to assist us in caring for his wounded, but we had not allowed him to "catch Cadmus."

The loss of the regiment in this battle was 44 killed and wounded. In Lieutenant Colonel Herbert's report of the battle Lieutenant C(harles R.) Rice, Captain W(illiam W.) Mordecai and Lieutenant W(illiam R.) Sterling were mentioned as conspicuous for gallantry, and all were said to have acted with

steady bravery. The "soldiers lately enlisted," conscripts, were specially mentioned. General Wilcox in his report of the battle, O. R. Series I, Vol. XXV., p. 860, says, "Colonel Royston 8th Alabama (and after his severe wound Lt. Col. Herbert who commanded the 8th Alabama), Col. (Lucius) Pinckard, 14th Ala., Col. Wm. H. Forney, 10th Ala., Col. J. C. C. Sanders, 11th Ala., Major J. H. J. Williams, 9th Ala., were intelligent, energetic, and gallant in commanding; directing and leading their men."

The men's roll of honor was:

Private Allen Bolling, Co. A.
Private J. N. Howard, Co. B.
Sergeant Robert Gaddes, Co. C.
Sergeant P. H. Mays, Co. D.
Sergeant T. A. Kelly, Co. F.
Private Patrick Leary, Co. I.
Private James Reynolds, Co. K.

On the next day, May 4, General Lee had planned an assault on Sedgwick, but the troops sent to connect on our right with Early, who was still on the left of Sedgwick had all day been retreating over a pontoon near Banks' Ford. General Wilcox having asked permission to send a regiment in pursuit, ordered forward the 8th. We double-quickened in that direction. Nearing them, we could hear the rumble of artillery and the "shoutings of the Captains" as the rear of the command was being hurried in the darkness over the river. Everywhere in the woods we picked up prisoners. Captain Fagan, whose figures may always be relied on, records that the prisoners captured by our Brigade were 1,020, and the rest of Anderson's Division brought in others, the total being about 2,000.

At 12 midnight on Tuesday we took up line of march towards Chancellorsville, where Hooker was still behind his breastworks. On the way occurred a singular phenomenon—the whole regiment was struck by lightning. The rain was just beginning to fall from a thunder cloud. Captain Walter Winn, Adjutant General of the Brigade, had been riding with me, and our talk was about the Federal battery that, apparently about a mile and half to our right over the river, was occasionally

firing. We agreed that we were within its range, but that even if it should turn its guns upon us we would be in but little danger, on account of the distance. Just as Winn had started off briskly and was about a horse's length ahead, there came a crash. My first impression was that a shell from the battery we had been speaking of had bursted in my head. I was severely shocked, especially in my head and left leg, but did not fall. Captain Winn had fallen from his horse, though he was soon revived, and every man in the regiment was more or less shocked, many in the two rear companies being stricken to the ground. Several of them were sent to the hospital, but all eventually recovered.

We continued our march in a drenching rain, and here I quote from Captain Fagan's article on "The Battle of Salem Church," in the Philadelphia TIMES. July 7, 1883:

Approaching the Chancellor House, the half drowned men filled the air with terrible yells; the shouting would begin at one end of the line and pass to the other, backwards and forwards. 'What in the hell are you yelling about?' demanded Major (T. S.) Mills of Anderson's Staff.

'To scare Fighting Joe Hooker,' replied a soldier. We laid down in the mud, expecting to charge Hooker's works at sunrise. Advancing at dawn my picket line, I was informed that the enemy's works were deserted. Awaiting orders, we passed the Chancellor House. Here was the most sickening sight I had ever beheld. Half buried in the mud were dead Federal soldiers, dismounted artillery, broken caissons, disemboweled horses, muskets, canteens, in fact, the whole paraphernalia of war in indescribable confusion. The blackened walls of the Chancellor House stood as a mighty sentinel guarding the whole. Climbing within Hooker's works I examined them closely—massive, intricate, crossing each other like the squares on a checkerboard. Open boxes of ammunition were placed every few yards. I have often thought that Anderson's division could never have carried those works unless a panic had seized the defenders.

Those works were the most formidable I ever saw. They were carefully constructed of fresh green logs piled upon each other, longitudinal pyramids as high as a man's shoulders. Above, on stakes, with a crack between for muskets, was a large head-log. For each file-closer and Field Officer, at proper distances in the rear, was a similar breastwork of logs. In front of the breastworks, for one hundred yards, were *cheveaux-de-frises* constructed of trees fallen with their tops towards the front and with every limb trimmed and sharpened. The growth of small trees here in the wilderness was so heavy and these obstructions so formidable as to make it almost impossible to climb over them from the front. At the hundred yard limit from the works the small trees and undergrowth left standing were so thick that to bring up artillery to the attack would have been impossible. Any assault upon the works must therefore have been made by infantry alone. Practically the works were impregnable, if defended with spirit.

"Old Joe Hooker," General Jeb Stuart is recorded to have sung, was "mighty glad to get out of the wilderness" and his order issued to his troops after their return to the north side of the Rappahannock, in which the General congratulated his troops upon their recent operations, would seem to indicate that he really was glad to have got safely away from those breast-works; but assuredly he was no gladder than we were, when we looked at them.

The Government at Washington did not seem to share the jubilation in which General Hooker indulged. Within about six weeks Hooker was removed and General (George Gordon) Meade put in command of the Army of the Potomac. This was the fifth decapitation of a General of this army by General Lee and "his people."

Salem Church was the last severe blow given to Hooker. That and the retreat of Sedgwick's corps the next day across the river, decided the battle of Chancellorsville. Soon afterwards the two armies took up again their former position north and south of the Rappahannock river. Lee's army was too small, Longstreet's corps being absent at Suffolk, to justify any attempt to follow the defeated Federals across the river, and so again for a month to come the sounds of hostile bugles were

heard up and down the Rappahannock for twenty miles, morning and evening; again there was a tacit truce between the two armies, and again pickets talked to, and perhaps traded with, each other across the stream.

Lieutenant Colonel Herbert was now in command. Colonel Royston was never able, after his wound at Salem Church, to return to the regiment. He was retired in the autumn of 1864, whereupon Lieutenant Colonel Herbert was promoted to Colonel, Major Emrich, Lieutenant Colonel and Captain Nall, Major.

Again the 8th was at Banks' Ford; and now occurred the only remembered instance, until just as we started on the Pennsylvania campaign, of firing here across the Rappahannock. The Federals had been using balloons ever since McClellan was before Yorktown. To many of us they seemed at first formidable, as an observer so high up in the air ought to be able we thought to give our positions with accuracy. Latterly, however, since we had so often been victorious in spite of these pretentious observers, we had come to laugh at the sky-scrappers that always kept so well out of range of our artillerymen. But one morning, now, perhaps, about the last of May, I saw, while on picket duty just about sunrise, a balloon going up from behind a wooded hilltop only a few hundred yards away, for a near-by look at our lines. This seemed just a little too familiar, and so the next morning, with the permission of General Wilcox, I stationed just beyond the brow of a hill two field pieces. Again the presumptuous balloonist began his morning flight into the air. When he was up some two hundred yards, both guns opened fire on him with shells. The aeronaut went down safely, but in a decided hurry, and the experiment was not repeated from that point. Captain Fagan records, in his article on Salem Church, that this was the last of ballooning in the Army of the Potomac during the war.

The other instance of firing across the river was on the 14th of June when General Lee having decided to begin his Pennsylvania campaign, we were ordered to make a demonstration upon the enemy at Banks' Ford, for the purpose of creating the impression that we were about to cross at the point, Lee's main body moving up at the same time to cross far up on our left. It would have been in violation of good faith to shoot

down without notice the pickets over on the other side, so our picket line was withdrawn the men calling out, as ordered to do, "Take care of yourselves, Yanks, we are coming across!" The Federal pickets at first laughed and said, "You are joking, boys," and we had to begin firing over their heads before they would seek shelter. Gradually the lines on both sides got behind their breast-works, and for some two hours there was a brisk fusillade across the river, without any damage on either side, so far as is known.

CHAPTER XII

The Gettysburg Campaign

The march of the 8th to Gettysburg was without any incident of special interest. The regiment was now, by reason of the receipt of conscripts and of some other recruits, as well as by the return of sick and wounded, much larger than it had been on the Maryland Campaign, and its morale seemed to be perfect. We were soon in the enemy's country, and anxious for the battle that was to be final and decisive. We had no thought of anything but victory. General Lee's orders against depredation on the march were strict, and such orders were perhaps never better observed in all the history of war by any army of invaders. Beyond the stripping of cherry trees, branches of which were sometimes broken off, I remember no violations. One or two amusing incidents that occurred during this tragical campaign ought to be recorded as we pass.

Samp Orr, one of our wagoners, during the winter that was gone had brought with him from home, where he had gone on furlough to the death bed of his wife, his little son, about 11 years old and also called "Samp." There was nothing for it but to let the little fellow stay with his father, and the "gamin" was now the pet of the regiment, and full of mischief. One day as we were marching along through the Dutch part of Pennsylvania, with its well-filled barns, fat cattle and wide-rolling stretches of such wheat as most of us had never seen, a fat old lady whose house was comfortably ensconced a few yards back in a clump of trees, was sweeping the road before her front gate. A high zig-zag rail fence on either side made a lane, and in this lane, close by the old lady, was a large Shanghai rooster, which little Samp, not having the fear of General Lee's orders before his eyes, attempted to capture. Samp ran for the rooster, and the old lady ran for Samp, and as the three scampered one after the other along the line of the regiment, the old lady with her uplifted brush-broom in hand, the men shouted, "Go it, Samp! Go it, rooster! Go it, old lady!" until finally the clumsy old Shanghai, finding that Samp was gaining in him, attempted to escape through a crack in the fence. The crack was not big enough—the rooster stuck at it and Samp was just in the act of stooping to seize his

prey, when the old lady's uplifted brush-broom came down on Samp right where the bend was, and down went Samp. The old lady was victor, her property was saved, and loud were the cheers that went up from the regiment in praise of the gallant old woman, whose flushed face as she gazed defiantly in the faces of the Rebs seemed to indicate that she did not appreciate having to fight for her rights on her own soil.

A large army is always an impressive sight, and many were the expressions of astonishment that now greeted us from the wondering country folk by the wayside as we tramp, tramp along the road.

"Auntie," said Martin Riley, a wag in Co. F., "don't you think there are a heap of people this year?"

"Yes, good Lord, we never will be able to get enough soldiers to whip you folks!"

But the attitude of the people, especially among the more intelligent, was generally that of angry defiance. In the towns and notably in Chambersburg, the people seemed by preconcert to have arrayed themselves in "purple and fine linen" as if to let the "rebels" see how little the war was affecting them. Perhaps the impression made upon us may have come in part from the fact that we had (to use the language of our boys) long been unaccustomed to see people in "biled shirts;" but certain it is that in this town most of the folks we saw appeared to be "diked out" in their very best. Women looked out of their windows and sat upon door steps, dressed in silks, and often decorated with Union flags. Indeed Union flags big and little were everywhere flying, and men were in broadcloth and silk hats. One man, as the regiment was passing him, in a broadcloth frock coat and with a sleek hat on his head, had taken up his position just on the outer edge of the sidewalk. As he was gazing intently on the troops, apparently trying to take in the full meaning of all this, and no doubt engaged in making an estimate of our numbers, one of our men named Donnally, an Irishman with his full share of Irish humor, stepped briskly from out of the rank and approaching the gentlemen from behind, took with one hand, from his own head his dirty old worn out hat, that had lost its band and its shape

and was full of holes at the top, and with the other hand lifted the silk hat, and the two heads exchanged coverings. The gentleman was so astonished that for a moment he only stared around in blank amazement and the shout that went up from the "Rebs" made the welkin ring. About the same time a lady, fair and fat, sat in a defiant attitude upon a door step with a bright little Union flag pinned over her bosom.

"Madam," said Martin Riley, of Co. F., "you had better be particular how you flaunt that flag; these boys are in the habit of storming breastworks wherever they see that flag flying!"

Gettysburg

We were not in the fight on the first day of July, at Gettysburg. Our division—Anderson's—was for about two hours that afternoon halted some two miles away, looking at the smoke and listening to the sounds of the battle. The query was in our minds—Why are we not put in? and we answered ourselves by saying, if we were needed "Marse Bob" would have us there.

On the morning of the 2nd of July, about 7 a.m., the brigade was moving by the right flank below the crest of a ridge that was to our left between us and the enemy—this to avoid being seen as we were taking our position in the intended line of battle. The 10th Alabama was in front, the 11th next, and the 8th next. The 10th was sharply attacked by (Colonel Hiram) Berden's battalion of sharpshooters, and the 2nd Maine regiment from behind a rock fence. When the attack was made on the 10th, the 11th was moving diagonally across a field to take its intended position on the left of the 10th. While it was thus moving in line into its right flank, which was pointing towards the stone wall, there came a volley from behind the rock wall. This sudden attack upon its flank caused the 11th to fall back. At this time the 8th was behind the 11th and was moving by the right flank to a point still further on the left where we were to take position. When the firing began we halted, forming line parallel to the rock fence. The 10th Alabama in the meantime had stood its ground on the right and was gallantly driving the enemy back. As soon as un-

masked by the 11th the 8th advanced upon the enemy and drove them from the wall. This rock wall or fence was at right angles with the enemy's main line of battle on the heights, and now the 8th, our left flank pointing rectangularly to the line occupied by the enemy's main body, we laid by that rock fence awaiting orders until late in the afternoon. The remainder of the brigade was stretched out on our right, and our line was there lying, as General Wilcox says in his report, O. R. Series I., Vol. XXVII, Part II, "at right angles" to the line which McLaws' Division took up near us about 2 p.m. Wilcox in his report says:

My instructions were to advance when the troops on my right should advance, and to report this to the Division Commander in order that the other brigades should advance in proper time. In order that I should advance on my right it became necessary for me to move off by the left flank, so as to uncover the ground over which they had to advance.

Owing to the unexpected delay of Longstreet's Corps to attack, the order was not given to us to advance until late in the afternoon, about 6:30. I now quote from the "Short History of the 8th Alabama Regiment" written in camp, and sanctioned by the officers who were present at Gettysburg. Speaking at first of the position we occupied at the rock fence, after the fight in the morning, this account says:

Our line now formed a right angle with that of Barksdale's Brigade, which was on the left of Longstreet's Corps when that corps came up. We threw out skirmishers who kept up a brisk fire with the enemy during the day. About 5:30 p.m. (It was about 6:15), Barksdale's Brigade moved forward and drove the enemy before them. Wilcox ordered his brigade to move by the left flank. We being on the left of our brigade were therefore in front. Moving about 300 yards in this manner, the 8th was greeted on the ascent of some rising ground, with a shower of musket balls and grapeshot from a line of infantry about 200 yards off and a battery of artillery on its right. Owing to the skirmish in the morning the regiment was march-

ing in column of fours by the left. We now, under this heavy fire changed front forward at a double quick, each company commencing to fire as it took its position in line. Our movement had put us far in advance and we were now exposed to the concentrated fire of all the enemy in our front. We were suffering terribly, and the men were impatient to charge. With a cheer we rushed onward, and the enemy's artillery and infantry fell back before us.

The 8th now became in this charge separated by nearly 200 yards from the remainder of the brigade, which was coming up on its left. This fact, strange to say, so completely escaped our attention at the time in the excitement of battle, that it was not known to the writer until it came to his attention some thirty years afterwards, when one of the Commissioners of the Battlefield at Gettysburg, and the writer, were locating the lines along which our regiment fought. This will be explained later.

The 8th in its charge went to the right of certain houses that were on the Emmitsburg Turnpike. The remainder of the brigade went to the left of these houses. The 8th having crossed the turnpike encountered some other troops in an orchard and driving these before us we found still another line of infantry which was near the Trostle house. These troops, composed probably in part of those we had already driven before us, without making any vigorous stand, retreated by the right flank, artillery and infantry, across a lane on their right, having made a passage for themselves by throwing down enough rails to make a gap.

To follow them it became necessary to "change direction to the left." This order was given. Holding the flag aloft, his manly form as erect as if on drill, the color bearer, Sergeant (J. P.) Ragsdale stepped forward in slow time, and the regiment aligning on him made a perfect half-wheel, and then the order was given to charge a double quick on the retreating foe. In this charge we crossed at an oblique angle the land made of two zig-zag fences. Climbing these fences diagonally of course disordered the regiment. Beyond the fence it was halted and its line reformed. I again quote from the "Short History":

About a hundred yards in front of us the enemy's retreating artillery halted, wheeled about—and a storm of grape shot whizzed around our heads. Such of their infantry too as could be arrested in their flight now accumulated their fire upon us. Disordered by pursuing them over the fences, as soon as formed, we charged. In fact, so eager were the men that some companies started, before the line was well formed. 'Forward' was now given, and we swept like a hurricane over cannon and caissons. The horses were shot down, many of the gunners died at their posts.

One little boy in blue, apparently not more than fifteen years old, on the lead front horse of a caisson-wagon, sat erect in the midst of the storm of battle, looking ahead, spurring his own and whipping the off horse in the vain effort to escape with the wagon. The little fellow was looking ahead and did not know that the two horses behind him were shot down. I was near enough to have touched him with my sword when the dust flew from his jacket just under his shoulder blade, and he fell forward dead. In the excitement of battle, the poor fellow was killed when he was virtually a prisoner. It was horrible.

It was at this point that I remember now to have first seen that we were in close contact with the 11th Alabama and the rest of the Brigade on our left.

Never perhaps in all its history did the men of the 8th Alabama feel the thrill of victory so vividly as when with exultant shouts we swept down the declivity over the accumulated guns and caissons, altogether some twelve or fifteen in number, that were huddled together there in the vain effort to cross that ravine and get back to their lines upon the hill. We felt that the supreme moment of the war had come—that victory was with our army and we ourselves were the victors. Passing beyond this artillery, we came to the ravine and now took our stand there, seeking where it was afforded, shelter behind the rocks in the fight with a fresh foe, whom we found in lines along our front. This ravine is just to the Confederate left of what is now pointed out as the Trostle House.

There seemed to be in front of us two compact lines, probably regiments, and here and there were groups of fugitives

endeavoring to rally. Only one or two pieces of artillery continued their fire upon us. Worn out in the fatigue of pursuit, exhausted by the excessive July heat, and our ranks thinned by a fearful loss of killed and wounded, we were unable to follow up our victory. For "some thirty minutes" General Wilcox says in his report, "the fight continued at short range while we were in the ravine." The enemy, seeing how few we were and that we were unsupported by artillery, attempted to attack. One line came within 25 steps of us but was driven back. It was evident we could not long maintain our present position unsupported. Will re-inforcement come? Our Brigade has driven the enemy nearly a mile, had captured about twelve pieces of cannon and are now confronted by what appears to us to be the last of the enemy's reserves. These broken, the day is ours. Again the enemy advances and again they are driven back. Will help come to us? Victory is wavering in the balance—oh, for a single Brigade appearing on the hill behind us—even the shout announcing the approach of Confederate re-inforcements. But no, neither the shout nor the troops to help us—the enemy finally break through on our left and we are forced to fall back. They did not pursue us, but during the night succeeded in drawing off the cannon we had been compelled to abandon for want of re-inforcements.

General Wilcox in his report describing this fight in the ravine says:

Seeing this contest so unequal I sent to the Division Commander to ask that support be sent to my men, but no support came. Three separate times did this last of the enemy's line attempt to drive my men back and were as often repulsed. This struggle at the foot of the hill on which were the enemy's batteries, though so unequal, was continued for some thirty minutes. With a second supporting line, the heights could have been carried. Without support on either my right or my left, my men were withdrawn to prevent their entire destruction or capture. The enemy did not pursue, but my men retired under a heavy artillery fire, and returned to their original position in the line and bivouacked for the night, pickets being left on the pike.

It will be noted that General Wilcox says that he asked his

Division Commander (General 'Richard H.' Anderson) for support, and that no support came. The facts were as follows: Three Brigades of our Division, (Brigadier General Ambrose R.) Wright's, (Brigadier General Edward A.) Perry's, and Wilcox's, had charged in line, Wilcox on the right. Wright, who was on the left and probably encountered fewer troops on the advance line than we, it was reported, actually broke the enemy's last line and the success of Perry's and Wilcox's charge was all but conclusive. Wilcox sent his aide, Captain Winn, back to tell Anderson that with the two brigades he had in reserve, (Brigadier General Carnot) Posey's and Mahone's, we could surely win the day. Anderson replied that his corps commander, whom he could not find, had ordered him to keep Posey and Mahone in reserve. So he refused to help us.

Afterwards two correspondents, "P. W. A." in a Savannah paper, and "A" in the Richmond Enquirer, criticized General Anderson so severely for failing to support our charge, made on Thursday, as to cause that General to take the almost unprecedented step of defending himself in the newspapers. The allegations of these correspondents in relation to our fight this day amounted to a charge that the battle of Gettysburg was lost because we were not supported when support was at hand; and if there had not been strong reason for believing this to be true, a Major General would not have gone into the newspapers with the following card, which appears in The Richmond Enquirer of July 31, 1863. This card the writer has had copied from the original files of the paper, and now publishes, because it throws a flood of light on the second day's fight at Gettysburg.

Here is an extract from the letter in the Enquirer signed "A" alluded to in General Anderson's card.

You will see that *twice* we took the McPherson heights — the real key to the enemy's whole position — once by a single brigade on Thursday, and again by a single division on Friday, and that in both instances we lost it by the failure of proper supports to the attacking parties. On whom the blame rests for the *second* failure I shall not attempt to say. The most careless reader will not be at loss to discover the responsible party. Of the failure to send in support in

the *first* assault (Thursday) the conviction is general in this army that Major General Anderson should be held responsible. It was a portion of his Division that made the assault, and successful charge and *two* of his strongest brigades, although on the field, were not put into action. Why this was so I presume and hope he will be able to explain when he comes to make his official report.

In the issue of the Enquirer of July 31st is General Anderson's card:

Headquarters,
Anderson's Division
July 29th, 1863

To the editors of the Enquirer:

I have recently seen in the columns of the Enquirer of the 22nd and 25th inst., a letter signed "A," and an extract from a letter signed "P. W. A." in each of which there are severe comments upon, and grave accusations against the conduct of Brigadier General Mahone, Posey and myself in the late military operations at Gettysburg.

These allegations are altogether unfounded, and unjust.

Generals Mahone and Posey performed their whole duty fully, faithfully, satisfactorily, to those under whose orders they acted, and in strict accordance with the instructions which they received from me, their immediate commander.

So far as I am concerned, not a word of censure or accusation has been preferred against me by my military superiors to whom alone I am responsible.

On the contrary, since reading the letters, my own immediate commander, under whose instructions I acted, has voluntarily informed me that my actions, on the

days referred to, were in strict conformity with his orders.

I am, respectfully,
Your obedient servant
R. H. Anderson
Major General

To explain how I discovered so long afterwards that the 8th was separated during the charge on this line the 2nd day of July, by about 200 yards from the remainder of the brigade. In 1890 (Brigadier) General W. H. Forney and Colonel (John Henry) Caldwell, formerly of our Brigade and in the battle, and I were with Colonel (John B.) Bachelder, chief of the battle commission, on the field at Gettysburg to aid him in fixing accurately our positions. Bachelder, having carried us to the rock fence where we had the fight on the morning of the 2nd, asked me to describe the course taken from that point by the 8th. Bachelder had been studying the field for years and already had a fair idea of our part in the battle. As I described to him the route taken by the 8th, as above narrated, he listened attentively until I spoke of having turned to the left to cross the lane made by the zig-zag fences. There he interrupted me and said that I was mistaken and that there was no such lane where he understood the 8th to have gone. I reasserted positively, and persisted in the assertion, although Bachelder's guide, who was a native of Gettysburg, sustained his statement. Bachelder insisting that there must be some mistake, went off with General* (David Wyatt) Aiken of South Carolina, to locate his position, and sent the guide to go with me while I should point out my course. As we crossed the Emmitsburg pike the guide was surprised at my telling him the 8th had passed certain buildings on its left, instead of its right. He said he thought we had passed on the other side, as it now appears the remainder of the Brigade did. Going on with the guide over the field I had told Bachelder we passed through, we finally found to our left the identical lane with zig-zag fence still bounding it, and I said to the guide:

*Editor's Note: Aiken was a Colonel during the Civil War.

"Here's the lane. Why did you tell me there was no such lane here?"

He replied:

"I knew all the time this lane was here, but your Brigade was on the other side of it, and I thought you were too. If you had been with the Brigade, you could not have found any such lane by turning to the left."

This incident convinced Colonel Bachelder and me beyond a doubt that the 8th was separated some 200 yards from the remainder of the Brigade until we came together finally when the 8th had crossed the lane and charged down on the artillery in the ravine near the Trostle house.

The past is curiously linked with the present. I was visiting the battle field of Gettysburg the second time. Bachelder was dead, and had been succeeded as President of the Gettysburg Commission by Colonel John P. Nicholson, a former Union soldier. With him, too, I talked over the part the 8th Alabama had taken in the fight. When describing, as above narrated, the movement by which the regiment when attacked on the flank came forward into line under fire of the enemy, Colonel Nicholson stopped me and said:

"Now I know whom you were fighting, because the officer in command of that regiment told me of this movement of yours and said it was the only time he had ever seen it performed under fire; and I replied to him that I had never heard of its being performed at any other time during the war."

I then said that this was very complimentary, and asked (Colonel Nicholson) to make me that statement in writing. His reply was that he would see that officer and get him to write me about it himself, which would be better.

I did not hear from Colonel Nicholson or from this officer for some time, and on May 16, 1902, in order that I might get this evidence in black and white, I wrote to Colonel Nicholson, recalling our previous conversation on the subject, reciting the facts again, and then added:

When I was at Gettysburg last I went over the matter with you and you said, after I had described the movement of changing front forward under fire, that it was a New Jersey regiment with which I had become engaged; that you had heard the commanding officer of that regiment speak of that movement as the only similar movement under fire he had ever witnessed; and you also stated to me that you had never known of its being performed at any other time. I asked you to write me to that effect, and you agreed that you would do so. Sometime afterwards I received a letter from you, together with a map of the battle field, upon which you asked me to mark out the route of my regiment on that day, and in reply you were to write me as above indicated. Unfortunately, I have lost that map and have neglected so far to comply with your request. Will you be good enough to write me in relation thereto, and very much oblige me.

May 26, 1902

Hon. H. A. Herbert,

My Dear Colonel — It will always remain to me a matter of regret that I was not aware of your contemplated visit, but I left for Washington the night before to be present at the reinterment of my old commander, General Rosecrans.

General Sewell, when I expressed to him your desire to have a statement of the movement of your regiment, promised that he would write the details to you, as he saw it whilst commanding the 5th New Jersey. From time to time I reminded him of your wishes and I inferred that he had done so. It is too bad that he did not do so after his many promises. I will search further.

Yours truly,
John P. Nicholson

General (William J.) Sewell* had died without writing me.

Referring to the movement of the 8th on this day, when it changed front forward on tenth company with such precision in the face of a heavy fire from the enemy, it will be remembered that Captain Mordecai of Co. H., had complained to the commanding officer when we were at Banks' Ford, about what he called "so much unnecessary drilling." On the night of the 2nd, after the battle of that day was over, Mordecai said to me:

"Colonel, I want to beg pardon. I will never complain again about your drilling the regiment. If we had not been splendidly drilled, we would have been whipped this morning like hell, before we ever got into line!"

Gettysburg, July 3, 1863

The following is an account of the 8th in this battle, as taken from the "Short History" written in camp at Orange, C. H.

On this day our Brigade was formed in rear of Alexander's Artillery and remained there during the most terrific cannonnading that has ever shaken this continent.

One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery on our side, replied to by about an equal number from the enemy, pealed their thunder upon the air for half an hour, when our artillery fire ceased. (Major General George Edward) Pickett's Division charged and was repulsed. Wilcox's Brigade, much reduced by yesterday's battle and Perry's, small before but now reduced to a handful, were ordered forward.

We were altogether not 1,500 men. What we could have been expected to effect has always remained a mystery. The enemy in our front must have been

*Editor's Note: Sewell was a Colonel at the Battle of Gettysburg.

20,000 strong, their line was almost impregnable by nature and at least 50 pieces of artillery could be brought to bear upon us.

Our artillery was silent for want of ammunition. At a glance of the eye from the brow of the hill, where we formed, every private at once saw the madness of the attempt, but never was their courageous devotion to duty more nobly illustrated than by their calm and quiet obedience to orders on this day.

We moved forward under the concentrated fire of all the enemies' batteries, which not being otherwise employed, devoted their attention to us.

Shells bursting in the ranks, made great gaps in the regiment. These at the command "guide center" were closed up as if on drill and we continued forward. Having reached a ravine about 500 yards to the front, a force of the enemy was observed bearing down on our left flank. We halted for a moment; it became evident that nothing could save us but retreat. The order was therefore given and we fell back to our former position in support of the artillery. The enemy not advancing, there was no further fighting during the day.

The loss of the regiment at Gettysburg was 262 killed, wounded and missing. This loss is considerably greater than appears in the official records but the figures here given are from rolls of the regiment and I believe are correct. Of 26 officers, 17 were killed and wounded. Among the killed were Captain (C. P. B.) Branagan, Co. I., Lieutenant B. J. Fuller, Co. K., and Lieutenant George Schwartz, Co. G, all gallant officers. Captain L. A. Livingston, Co. F., a brave and faithful officer, and Lieutenant (Robert) R. Scott, heretofore mentioned for gallantry, afterwards died of wounds received here.

The color sergeant L. P. Ragsdale, was conspicuous for the coolness with which he obeyed orders in the thickest of the fight. Privates A. Rothschild, Co. G., James Reynolds and S. H. White, Co. K., Sergeant L. P. Bulger, Co. B., were conspicuous for bravery.

In his report O. R. Vol. XXVI, Series 1, Part 2, page 620, General Wilcox says:

The regimental commanders were active and zealous in commanding and directing their men. Lieutenant Colonel Herbert of the 8th, Lieutenant Colonel Shelly of the 10th, Lieutenant Colonel (George P.) Tayloe of the 11th and Captain King are all deserving of especial praise.

Interval Between Pickett's Charge and Advance of Wilcox's and Perry's Brigade

It will be noted that in this account, written in camp seven or eight months after the battle of Gettysburg, I wrote, speaking of this charge: "What we could have been expected to effect has always remained a mystery." This expression, like every other sentence in the account, had the approval of all the officers who were present when it was written. Pickett's charge had already been practically repulsed when we were ordered forward, and it never occurred to any officer of the 8th, nor when this account was written January, 1864, had it been even suggested to any of us, that we had been expected to support Pickett's charge. On the contrary, our speculation was that we had simply been ordered forward on the right of where Pickett had charged and after his repulse as a forlorn hope to prevent the enemy from making a counter charge.

The writer was greatly surprised three years since, in conversation with General E. P. Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, to learn from him that it had been the intention of General Lee that Wilcox should go forward with Pickett, but that somehow or another the orders had miscarried. And this is an important point in the general history of the battle.

I now quote from General Wilcox's report, O. R., Series 1, Vol. XXVII, Part II, capitalizing the words in that report which bear upon the account above as to the interval between Pickett's charge and ours:

Pickett's Division now advanced, and other brigades on his left. As soon as these troops rose to advance, the

hostile artillery opened upon them. These brave men (Pickett's) nevertheless moved on, as far as I saw them, without wavering. The enemy's artillery opposed them on both flanks and directly in front. Every variety of artillery missiles were thrown into their ranks.

The advance had not been made more than TWENTY OR THIRTY MINUTES BEFORE THREE STAFF OFFICERS IN QUICK SUCCESSION (ONE FROM THE MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDING DIVISION) gave me orders to advance to the support of Pickett's Division. My brigade, about 1,200 in number, then moved forward in the following order from right to left: Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Eighth, and Fourteenth Alabama Regiments. As they advanced, they changed directions slightly to the left, so as to cover in part the ground over which Pickett's division had moved. As they came in view on the turnpike, all the enemy's terrible artillery that could bear on them was concentrated upon them from both flanks and directly in front, and more than on the evening previous. NOT A MAN OF THE DIVISION THAT I WAS ORDERED TO SUPPORT COULD I SEE; but as my orders were to go to their support, on my men went down the slope until they came near the hill upon which were the enemy's batteries and entrenchments.

Here they were exposed to a close and terrible fire of artillery. Two lines of the enemy's infantry were seen moving by the flank toward the rear of my left. I ordered my men to hold their ground until I could get artillery to fire upon them. I then rode back rapidly to our artillery, but could find none near that had ammunition. After some little delay, not getting any artillery to fire upon the enemy's infantry that were on my left flank, and knowing that my small force could do nothing save to make a useless sacrifice of themselves, I ordered them back. The enemy did not pursue. My men, as on the day before, had to retire under a heavy artillery fire. My line was reformed on the ground it occupied before it advanced.

General Alexander in his "Memoirs" recently published, after describing Pickett's repulse says (*italics mine*):

After about twenty minutes *during which the firing had about ceased*, to my surprise there came forward from the rear Wilcox's fine Alabama brigade, which had been with us at Chancellorsville, and, just sixty days before, had won the affair at Salem Church. It had been sent to reinforce Pickett but *was not in the column*. Now when all was over the single brigade was moving forward alone. They were about 1,200 strong, and on their left were about 250, the remnant of Perry's Florida brigade. It was both absurd and tragic.

The enemy did not attempt to attack us after repulsing Pickett's assault; and the assault of our little handful of men, subsequently made. When we fell back we resumed our former position in line on the brow of that ridge where we had lain when the battle of that day began. Soon General Lee, on Traveller and accompanied by an aide, rode slowly along our front, and the majestic mien of horse and rider, both calm as a May morning, would have tended to reassure us, if reassurance had been necessary. We had been repulsed and as it afterwards turned out, defeated, but we were not demoralized. Every man of us felt that if the enemy should attack us in our position his repulse would be as disastrous as ours had been.

All that day our army remained in line, and that night, it is now said, in a council of war among the generals of the Union army the question was seriously discussed, whether they should not retreat. They did not retreat, nor did we the next day until night fall came.

On the 4th day of July both armies laid a line of battle like two wounded tigers, tired of the fray, prone on the ground, panting and glaring at each other with blood-shot eyes. Before night fall on that day Lee's wagon trains began the retreat, and at night the army took up the march. Meade followed warily, evidently not intent upon a general engagement, but rather as if he would "build a bridge of gold for his enemy" to pass over the Potomac on. The river was in angry mood,

swollen high with recent rains. It was difficult now, if not impossible, for Lee to cross.

He drew up in line of battle near Hagerstown, Maryland, and Meade did not attack. He appeared in our front and there was some slight skirmishing in which the 8th stationed near St. James' College, lost one man, wounded. After two or three days the Potomac having fallen, Lee crossed over the river without molestation except an attack on our rear-guard near the bridge; and here the gallant (Brigadier) General (Johnston) Pettigrew lost his life. I knew him well. We had been mess mates in Prison at Fort Delaware, and no knightlier gentleman than he ever drew sword in defense of his native land. Lee once over the river the campaign was ended. The enemy kept themselves at a respectful distance, and General Lee rested and recruited as best he could.

Meade was afterwards removed, the specific charge against him being that he did not attack and crush Lee before the latter could cross the Potomac; and Meade was thus the fifth officer who had been displaced from command of the army of the Potomac by Mr. Lincoln for his failure to crush General Lee.

In the opinion of Lee's army then, and in my opinion now, General Meade was wiser than Mr. Lincoln. The General knew better than his President could know the temper and mettle of the two armies. Lee's army did not then look upon Gettysburg as a defeat — but only as a repulse. Our reasoning was that the enemy's position had simply been impregnable, and even while we were retreating we indulged in the boast that they dared not attack us in the open field of fair fight. Not during the civil war, nor indeed until in a cooler survey of the whole field of operations after Appomattox, did Lee's veterans ever admit to themselves that Gettysburg — now called by northern writers the "high tide of the Rebellion" — was a defeat for our armies. Such indeed it now proves to have been. We were repulsed and we retreated, but if Meade had attacked us at St. James' College, near Hagerstown, the feeling in our army was that the victory this time would be ours again. It is now sometimes contended that after Gettysburg Lee did not have ammunition for another great battle. This seems plausible, but if reserve ammunition was scarce we, the rank and file, did not know it.

I have studied the battle of Gettysburg with considerable care, and it may not be amiss to record here briefly some opinions which, however, I have not time to fortify by reasons.

First. If the Confederate forces at hand had been promptly thrown forward in the afternoon of July 1st we would have captured the heights easily. Our Division (Anderson's) was close enough to be available.

Secondly. If in the battle of the second of July the two reserve Brigades of General Anderson's Division had been sent in to our help as requested by General Wilcox, we should have gone through the enemy's left center.

Third. If on the second of July the assault had been made on our right three or four hours earlier, as contemplated by General Lee, we would have won a great victory.

CHAPTER XIII

Gettysburg to Winter Quarters, Orange C.H.

I have recorded the fact that Lee's army never during the war (the rank and file of it) admitted that we had been whipped at Gettysburg. Strategically, as I have stated, we were defeated, because the battle ended our campaign into Pennsylvania; but the student of history will understand my most positive assertion, that Lee's army considered Gettysburg as a drawn battle, when he takes into account the following facts which we had in mind.

At no time for the next ten months, from the 3rd of July, 1863, until the 3rd of May, 1864, did the Army of the Potomac dare to attack General Lee; and this although Lee was at all times accessible, always present between the Federals and Richmond. The outposts of the two armies were never out of touch, and early in the autumn of 1863 Lee quietly took position at Orange C. H. behind the Rapidan river. Meade's army now appearing in our front, Lee took the offensive by crossing the river and offering battle on the plains of Culpepper. Meade retreated; Lee pushed on and at Bristoe Station on October 14th a portion of the Federal rear-guard, successfully concealed behind a railroad embankment, disastrously repulsed one of our Brigades that was in hot pursuit and had been led to believe that a railroad embankment which it was rushing upon unwarily was unoccupied. Meade got his army away without a fight and this little affair added some eclat to his escape; and it was an escape from battle. Meade refused this battle when he, of course, knew that Lee had a few weeks before sent away Longstreet with 9 brigades and 26 pieces of artillery to help (General Braxton) Bragg in the Chickamauga campaign, and these troops did not return.

The 8th was not in the affair at Bristoe, except that we were heavily shelled at a distance, and lost one man killed and seven wounded. Strange to say, the man killed had his skin nowhere broken — a shell had bent his musket partly around his body; his wound was internal.

In the latter part of November Meade seemed to have made up his mind to again try conclusions with Lee, and so crossed

his army over the river some distance below Orange C. H., and to our right. Lee promptly changed front to meet him, and there was some skirmishing, during which at Mine Run on the 30th of November our regiment had one man wounded. Meade being slow to attack, General Lee moved on him, but the Federal army got back to its own side of the river without a battle.

Again in February when Meade was demonstrating in the direction of Madison C.H., we marched down there in the rain and sleet over almost impassable roads, but Meade again retired before us.

The army of Northern Virginia under Lee remained in quarters near Orange C. H., during October, December, January, March, and April, the enemy on three distinct occasions within three months, refusing battle when offered. Thus as before stated, although as we now see, Gettysburg was a defeat for our army, yet the rank and file of the Confederates had reasons for their refusal during the war to consider that engagement as anything else than a drawn battle, in which both armies occupied their original position on the 4th of July, the day after the fight ended. Our claim was that the shock we had given Meade's army on the impregnable heights of Gettysburg, had so paralyzed it that it dared not assault us on the next day, declined to attack us when we lay for three days near Hagerstown, with the Potomac impassable behind us, declined battle when Lee offered it on the plains of Culpepper in the middle of October, refused to fight when Lee moved against it after it had crossed the Rapidan in the latter part of November, declined battle again at Madison C. H., and allowed us to remain in camp at Orange C. H., absolutely undisturbed during the whole winter of 1863-4.

What our enemy thought, during this period, of General Lee is well illustrated by a conversation the writer had (perhaps in January) with an Irish Lieutenant of a New York regiment, whom he had met out between the picket lines when negotiating to pass a lady through the lines on her way North.

"Well," said the Lieutenant, "we are on our way to Richmond again."

"Yes," was the reply, "but you'll never get there."

"Oh, yes, we will," came the answer. "We'll get there after while; and if you will swap Generals with us, we will get there in three weeks."

It is needless to say that the proposition for an exchange was politely declined. As we parted we took a drink of the gallant young Irishman's good whiskey, to the toast he offered "May the best man win." The bigger man won. Both men were plucky.

Orange C. H., Winter 1863-4

There was a sound of revelry by night
And Belgium's capital had gathered then

Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright
The lamp shone o'er fair women and brave men.

The ball at Brussels on the night before the battle of Waterloo, pictured in Byron's celebrated verses, had its counterpart in the festivities that took place in and near Orange C. H., during the three winter months of 1863-4, and continued without interruption down to the very moment when in the early days of May, Lee's forces broke camp, and marched a few miles away down to the dreadful battlefield of the Wilderness. Never at any time since we had been cheered in 1861 on our way to Richmond had our army, at least that part of it to which the 8th Alabama belonged, seen so much of lovely woman as during this winter. For months, and even years, in camp and on the march we had dreamed of ruddy cheeks, of soft voices and of bright eyes like those that now beamed a welcome to us; and here they were, everywhere for miles around Orange C. H., the Willises, the Caves, the Bulls, the Joneses, the Pairors, the Taliaferros, and others. Never were more charming women than these, some of them refugees from Baltimore and elsewhere, but most of them Virginia girls; and never did even such women have more enthusiastic admirers. Our officers had music at their command, the girls could furnish spacious mansions and night after night did we "chase the glowing hours with flying feet." It may seem strange to a civilian that there should

have been so much gaiety, when danger was so imminent. We knew the situation. A list of casualties up to that time among the officers of the 8th Alabama, made up in camp at Orange C. H., showed that the complement of fighting officers in the regiment (4 to a company, an adjutant, and three field officers) being only together 44, the casualties among our officers had been 47, viz. 19 killed, 27 wounded and one dead of disease. We knew too that the blockade was shutting us in, that with us recruiting was practically at an end, that the North was increasing its vastly superior armies from both natives and foreigners, and that we alone must stand between these armies and the capital of the Confederacy. And yet, sensible as we were of the dangers that confronted us, the days flew by, with many of us at least, as merrily as any we can count in all the checkered calendar of the past. Possibly a dance in those days was all the merrier because of the feeling that it might be the last — the dance of death. It was only a few days before the Wilderness battle began when grim old Jubal Early, looking on with an elderly lady friend while a lot of young officers were gliding gaily over the floor with their happy partners, said to her:

“Madam, if you have any message to send to the next world, you may give it to one of these young men, and he’ll deliver it in a few weeks.”

Concurrently with these gayeties, a deep, wide-spread religious movement was going on in the Regiment and throughout the Brigade. Men who had devoted themselves to their country’s cause were profoundly impressed with a sense of their duties to God. Protracted meetings were held, fervent appeals were made, by the eloquent Chaplain of the 10th Alabama and other preachers. New members were added to the churches and the zeal of professing Christians were quickened and intensified. The members of the Irish Company “I” were mostly Catholics. They took no part in the revivals but always earnestly welcomed the frequent visits of the Priest, who was Chaplain of a Louisiana Regiment and the effect of the prolonged stays of this excellent man was always noticeable. Indeed the gayeties of which account has been given were by no means inconsistent with the deep religious feeling that pervaded all ranks. Profanity and ribald speech were almost wholly un-

known. Lee's army at Orange C. H., was not fanatical like Cromwell's, but it was a body of enlightened Christians led by a General who as a Christian has had no superior in the world's history.

The 8th Alabama was hutted in a wood about one and a half miles from Orange C. H., near the house of old Captain Cave, who had two lovely daughters. The writer was to ride as the knight of one of Captain Cave's daughters, Miss Nina, at a tournament which was to take place in (General Ambrose Powell) Hill's Corps (ours) on the 1st of May. It turned out that I was not to attend the tourney, because the 8th on the day before was sent to the front to strengthen our outposts; but Miss Nina had already, in compliment to her knight, presented to the regiment a tassel and two beautiful pennants for its flag. On the pennants, one red, and the other white, were printed the names of the principal battles in which the regiment had been engaged. The history of these pennants I digress here to tell of, as it shows how curiously incidents of the long-ago often confront us in the present. In 1896, the writer was spending a few days at the Chamberlin Hotel at Old Point Comfort, Va., and John A. Browne, a former member of Co. "D" 8th Alabama, who had married a Virginia girl, and was now a resident of Suffolk, Va., where he had risen to prominence, came over to see him. Browne had with him the identical tassel and pennants Miss Cave had given me at Orange C. H. These pennants had fallen into his hands, when the men of the regiment tore up the flag at Appomatox rather than surrender it as will be hereafter related. When I called Browne's attention to the fact that these pennants had been given to me by Miss Cave he left it for me to decide whether they belong to him or to me. I felt bound to decide in his favor on the ground that he had saved them and had so long had them in possession. He thanked me heartily and promised to will them to me or mine at his death. Browne, brave fellow, has since died and his widow has since sent me the tassel and pennants which I prize beyond expression.

In giving the list of officers who had been killed and wounded my account written at Orange, C. H., says:

In the above list of wounded (27 officers) those who

were wounded while enlisted men and have since been promoted are not counted.

The list also included "Resigned and transferred to other commands by promotion, 27." The account also said, showing the remarkable mutations, "Only eight company officers remain on the rolls who were such at the beginning."

There never was in the regiment, from first to last, any lack of material for good officers. Of course there were in the command, as there always must be in such a body, some cowards. One officer, whose name must be consigned to the oblivion he made for himself, had been cashiered for cowardice. This fellow had been noted at home as a bully, a desperado who killed two men. Before his doughty sword it was expected that hecatombs of "hated Yankees" were to fall; but from him the Yankees were quite safe. Per contra, the "dandies" of the regiment, as they were called in that day, the "dudes" of this, were never known to run away in battle. They were too proud.

It will be remembered that we had enlisted in May and June, 1861, for "three years, or the war." The three years were soon to expire, and my account of what now occurred, written at Orange C. H., is as follows:

On the 29th of January the regiment reenlisted unconditionally for the war. The reenlistment was conducted entirely by non-commissioned officers and privates. During the month of January, rations had been scantier than at any previous period. The then usual ration of bacon, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pound, was frequently cut down to 2 ounces and often no meat at all was issued. A full ration of bacon was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound. On the day of reenlistment the men had not a mouthful of meat.

When the resolutions for reenlistment had been prepared and received general assent they were read at an evening dress parade, and the announcement was made that the color bearer would step three paces to the front, and that all who intended to reenlist would as their names were called, align themselves on the colors. Every man except one, who was quite old, stepped up to the color line. As one of the members of Co. I

came forward, some one said, "You, too, Regan?" "Yes," was the reply. "Do you think I ate grape shot at Sharpsburg for nothing?"

A few days later General Lee issued this order: (Series I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 144-5).

General Order: Headquarters Army of Northern
Virginia, No. 14
February 3, 1864

The commanding general announces with gratification the reenlistment of the regiments of this army for the war, and the reiteration of the war regiments of their determination to continue in arms until independence is achieved. This action gives new cause for the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen. It is hoped that this patriotic movement, commenced in the Army of Tennessee, will be followed by every brigade of the Army of Northern Virginia and extend from army to army until the soldiers of the South stand in one embattled host determined never to yield.

The troops which initiated this movement, so honorable to themselves and so pleasing to the country, are Hart's (South Carolina) battery, (Colonel Cullen A.) Battle's (Alabama) brigade, (Brigadier General George C.) Dole's (Georgia) brigade, (Brigadier General S. Dodson) Ramseur's (North Carolina) brigade, *the 11th and 8th Alabama Regiments*, and the 47th Regiment North Carolina troops.

Soldiers, imitate this noble example and evidence to the world that you never can be conquered. The blessing of God upon your undaunted courage will bestow peace and independence to a grateful people.

R. E. Lee, General.

CHAPTER XIV

The Wilderness to Petersburg

On the 5th of May, 1864, at 2 o'clock p.m., we broke camp and leaving Orange, C. H., and all its joyous memories behind us, took the plank road in the direction of the Wilderness. At 8 p.m., we halted at Veditersville, a few miles from where the first day's battle had been progressing the day before.

General (Ulysses S.) Grant, the hero of Fort Donelson and Vicksburg, had been placed in command of all the armies of the Union and had taken personal charge of the Army of the Potomac. This army he had reenforced at will from other armies, and by new recruits from many States, until in his opinion and that of the administration at Washington his forces were amply sufficient easily to drive Lee's relatively small army out of the way and march straight to Richmond.

Grant's superiority in artillery was even greater than in the number of his troops, and he could count on receiving, and did get afterwards during the campaign that was now beginning, additional re-enforcements in great numbers.

As soon as Grant had crossed the river Lee on the 5th of May had attacked him in the Wilderness, where the woods and undergrowth were so thick that artillery could not be used; and so it was on the 5th, as again on the 6th, an infantry battle. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 6th our Brigade took up line of march along the plank road for the battlefield, soon diverging into the woods on the left, where just as we were about to cross a little morass there was a halt, and all the field officers of the Brigade dismounted, sending their mounts to the rear and marching forward on foot, until at a point in the woods a few rods to our left of the plank road we halted again and formed in line of battle, the men lying down to receive the expected attack, our skirmishers having been thrown well out to the front. General Wilcox had recently been promoted to Major General, and was not allowed to carry his old Brigade with him into his new division, a privilege for which he had most earnestly begged. Brigadier General Abner

Perrin, had been assigned to command of our Brigade. Lieutenant Colonel Herbert was in command of the regiment. Colonel Royston had been absent since he was wounded at Salem Church, May 3, 1863. Major Emrich was absent, sick.

In the early morning, say about 7 o'clock, a brisk firing on our skirmish line indicated that the enemy were advancing, and soon our skirmishers began to come in, the enemy's heavy line of skirmishers following them closely. The woods were so thick that one could not be seen, even in the most open places, more than seventy-five or eighty yards. Colonel Herbert had been talking to his men, warning them that no man was to fire until the order was given. He had just quoted the celebrated language of General (Israel) Putnam—"We must not open on them until we can see the whites of their eyes," when he was severely wounded by a sharpshooter. Still the men, obeying orders, did not fire. Immediately Captain Nall, the next in rank, assumed command, taking the same position Colonel Herbert had occupied. In a moment he too was severely wounded; and still the men did not fire. Then Captain H. C. Lea took command. The main line of the enemy was now close by, coming up in fine style, when our men opened fire. The enemy were at once staggered, and after a volley or two began to retreat, the Brigade following them with a murderous fire. In the charge Captain Lea was wounded and then the command fell upon Captain Mordecai. We drove the enemy back with great slaughter probably a half mile or more. The gallant (Brigadier) General (James S.) Wadsworth, one of the most efficient and popular officers in Grant's army, was found wounded in front of the 8th. We sent him to the Field Hospital in our rear, to be cared for; but his wound was mortal and he died the next day.

The regiment was also slightly engaged the next day. Our loss in the two days' fighting—which was every slight, however, on the 7th—was forty-six killed, wounded and missing, the only officers wounded being the three above mentioned who were successively in command.

The carnage of the two days' fight at the Wilderness was dreadful, though larger on the side of the Federal troops than

on the Confederates. Alexander's estimate of numbers and losses is: Federals 101,895, losses 18,366. Confederates 61,025, killed and wounded 7,750, missing unknown. General Grant now rapidly swung his army off by the left flank in the direction of Spotsylvania C. H.

The author finds in the official records of the war no report from General Perrin of the part our Brigade took in this fight. Special reports from the commanding officers of the Brigade are from this time forward indeed almost entirely wanting, resulting from the fact that the fighting henceforward, even down to Appomatox, was so continuous and the operations so absorbing that our Brigade, and indeed Division commanders, seemed to have had little time within which to make and send in special accounts of battles. The gallant General Perrin, who commanded us at the Wilderness, was killed five days afterwards leading our attack at Spotsylvania, and this accounts for the lack of any report of the part taken by our Brigade in either of these battles.

It may be said here also that while Captain Fagan's diary is specific as to the important dates of battles and losses, as are also the historical memoranda made out on the 1st day of January, 1865, by Lieutenant Colonel Emrich, the writer thereafter absent on account of his wounds is obliged for want of specific data to forego any attempt to describe particularly the part taken by the 8th Alabama in many of the battles in which it was subsequently engaged.

The regiment was slightly engaged on May 8th at Bradshaw's Farm, and on the 9th reach Spotsylvania C. H., where occurred one of the bloodiest contests of the whole war, much of which centered around what is known in history as the celebrated "bloody angle," where the Confederate General (Edward) Johnson was captured by the enemy, with 1,200 prisoners. Our Division, R. H. Anderson's, assisted in the final repulse of the enemy, the 8th Alabama losing in killed and wounded twenty-six, including among the latter the brave Captain John McGrath. Besides losing here, as has been said, Brigadier General Perrin, Captain Walter Winn, the gallant Adjutant General of the Brigade, was wounded.

After General Grant's second bloody repulse which occurred at this point he again swung his army off by the left flank, and at about this time gladdened the hearts at Washington by his celebrated saying, that he was going to "fight it out on this line, if it took all the summer." Grant had now come to see that it was no easy task, indeed that it was well nigh impossible, to crush Lee and his veterans even with his superior numbers by direct attack. But Lee's army would not be able, Grant reckoned (and correctly too) to withstand heavy and continuous losses. Of recruits Lee could get few, or none. The resources of the Union army were practically unlimited. Attrition would finally accomplish results. Grant could afford to give two, or even three, men for one, and ultimately the power of the Army of Northern Virginia to continue the struggle would come to an end.

The regiment remained at Spotsylvania C. H., until the 21st of May. On May 24th at Hanover Junction the 8th and 11th Alabama made quite a successful movement. Marching by the flank through an interval in the enemy's lines, they swept down the line for a distance, and captured fifty-five prisoners, with a loss of 8 killed and wounded.

On June 1st the regiment fought at Totopotomoy Creek, again losing 8 killed and wounded. From this place it marched to the battlefield of Cold Harbor.

Cold Harbor

There Grant had made up his mind to make another such direct attack upon Lee as he had ventured at Spotsylvania, and the 8th Alabama took part in that memorable contest. The losses incurred in the brave but unsuccessful assaults made by the Federal troops were so appalling that for a short time thereafter, as historians now record, the dismay at Washington and throughout the North was such as to cause the question to be seriously mooted by some eminent statesmen, whether or not terms of peace should be offered to the Confederacy.

The loss of the 8th Alabama was fifteen killed and wounded. Up to and including the battle of Cold Harbor on

the 3rd of June, thirty days after Grant had crossed the Rapidan, the losses of the Union army, in killed, wounded and prisoners were 54,949, amost equal to the whole number Lee had under his command when this campaign began at the Wilderness.

After the repulse at Cold Harbor Grant again swung his army off by the left flank, and on June 13th the 8th was again engaged at White Oaks Swamp, losing two only.

CHAPTER XV

Petersburg — The Crater

On June 18th Grant having reached his gun boats on the James River, and having crossed that stream to assault Petersburg, our Brigade crossed the James at Chaffin's Bluff, and reached Petersburg at 5 p.m., where the regiment took position in line near Battery No. 30.

All the world now knows authoritatively, from the reports of General Lee as well as by common tradition, how our troops suffered during the campaign from the Wilderness to Appomattox for want of clothing, shoes and food. The lack of full rations had become so common that in the diary of Captain Fagan, upon which the writer is now largely relying for accurate information as to the 8th Alabama at Petersburg, the food question is for months scarcely ever mentioned. The gallant Captain took it as a matter of course that the boys must be content with whatsoever the poor Confederacy could afford them. But it is refreshing to read the following entry by him, on Thursday, July 21:

Daniel returned, and we have a vegetable dinner, for the first time this year. We had cabbage, squash, Irish potatoes, beets, and tomatoes, with plenty of vinegar.

Just think of the happy fellow, how he enjoyed that dinner "with plenty of vinegar!"

Attack on the Enemy's Left Flank, June 22, 1864

The following description of this battle is taken from Captain Fagan's diary, supplemented by a letter to him from J. M. Richardson, who, Captain Fagan says, has a very retentive memory and was one of the best soldiers of his old Company, K.

Ever since Grant's repulse at the Wilderness he had been moving from time to time to get upon Lee's right flank, Lee always confronting him wherever he formed his line. Thus maneuvering the two armies had gradually swung around an arc that stretched from the Rapidan to the front of Peters-

burg; and now on the 22nd of June General Grant suddenly found that Lee was on the offensive. The Divisions of Anderson, Wilcox and (Major General) Bushrod R. Johnson, with Mahone's had been ordered to march into a gap left between the 2nd and 6th Corps stretched towards the Weldon Railroad. The fighting seems largely to have been done by the Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia Brigades of Mahone's Division, as it was the troops of these Brigades that captured all the flags taken from the enemy. The Alabama Brigade was on the left in the attack, and the 8th Alabama was on the left of our Brigade. The Alabamians marched through the woods and the 8th was halted and laid down in front of the enemy's breastworks, where it was subjected to a terrific fire. Three color corporals, one named George Harris of Company K, and the names of the other two not remembered, were shot down.

In the meantime, the other four regiments of the Alabamians, together with the Georgians and Virginians, moved on the extreme left flank of Grant's army and then all advanced together. The enemy fled in great confusion, losing 1,600 prisoners and ten flags. Of these the 11th Alabama captured the colors of the 106th Pennsylvanians and the 42nd New York (Tammany Regiment). The colors of the 19th Massachusetts were captured by the 2nd Georgia Battalion; of the 15th Massachusetts by the 3rd Georgia; of the 7th New Jersey by the 6th Virginia; of the 5th Michigan by the 41st Virginia; while the 61st Virginia captured one United States flag, regiment not known.

As soon as we had occupied the works of the enemy, our men expecting an attack provided themselves each with two guns of those captured from the enemy, and loaded them, every man of the 8th (and it is probably true of the other regiments) had not only his own, but two loaded guns besides. Soon the enemy were reenforced and made a gallant attack to recapture their works, but they were disastrously repulsed.

That night our troops returned to their stations with the spoils. The loss of the 8th in this battle was twenty-seven killed, wounded, and missing.

On the next day, June 23rd, the regiment was again engaged at Gurley's Farm, where it lost one killed and two

wounded. On that night it returned to its original position at Battery No. 30, near Petersburg.

On the 29th of June our Brigade with the Florida, now (Brigadier General Joseph) Finegan's Brigade, and with two pieces of artillery, and (Major General) Fitz(hugh) Lee's Cavalry, intercepted the enemy's raiders at Stony Creek Depot sometimes called Reams' Station, on the Weldon Railroad, capturing 198 men, seven officers, twenty-three ambulances, fifty-three wagons and fourteen pieces of artillery. The loss of the regiment here was five killed, wounded and missing.

On the night of the 29th we returned to our original position in front of Petersburg.

Our former Major-General, R. H. Anderson, had now been made Lieutenant General, and our Division was now Mahone's, and our Brigade (now John C. C. Sanders) was for some time to come generally stationed near Battery No. 30, in front of Petersburg. The Division had much relied on intercept raids in the Petersburg campaign, much hard marching and hard fighting to do, in the heat and dust of the summer, as well as in sleet and rain and mud during the long winter through which the Petersburg campaign extended. Captain Fagan records that the Brigade moved out thirteen times during the siege, to intercept raids or resist attacks.

The old Brigade never did better service than on July 30, 1864, and no combat in all the history of the army of Northern Virginia is more creditable to the troops engaged than was

The Battle of the Crater

According to all military precedents it would seem that when General Grant, with the forces at his command, had succeeded so unexpectedly in breaching our long thin line at the Crater, he ought to have been able to pierce and destroy Lee's army, but he failed; and the writer fortunately is in possession of three very able and picturesque descriptions of that battle, written independently of each other. One is by Captain William L. Fagan, of the 8th Alabama, published in the Philadelphia Time of July 6, 1882. Another is by Captain John C.

Featherston, of the 9th Alabama, written in 1905, and the third is by Captain William B. Young, Staff Officer in the battle of General Sanders, commanding the Brigade.

The importance of this battle is such as to justify the publication here of all the articles. These three accounts are as follows, and the careful reader will find in the slight discrepancies between these writers the strongest possible evidence of the truthfulness of the several witnesses.

The Peterburg Crater. A Participant's Description of the Fierce
Struggle for the Recapture of the Salient.

by W. L. Fagan (Formerly Captain Co. K.
8th Alabama Regiment)

The morning of July 30, 1864, dawned sultry, and by 9 a.m., the heat was oppressive. At 12 m., the thermometer was at ninety-eight degrees. About 7 a.m., General Lee, accompanied by a single courier, rode rapidly to General Mahone's headquarters, situated at Dr. Branch's house. After a hurried consultation Generals Lee and Mahone rode towards our lines. I do not think General Mahone knew of the explosion until he was informed by General Lee. Mahone, at that time, commanded General R. H. Anderson's Division, composed of Wright's Georgia, Mahone's Virginia, Wilcox's Alabama, (Brigadier General Nathaniel H.) Harris' Mississippi and Finegan's Florida Brigades. This division occupied the works to the right of (Major General Robert F.) Hoke's Division, extending its right to a point in front of Branch's house. The Eighteenth and Twenty-second South Carolina Regiments, a part of (Brigadier General Stephen) Elliott's Brigade, Hoke's Division and four guns of (Major William J.) Pegram's Battery, occupied a salient or angle of our line. This salient was higher than the enemy's line in its immediate front. The Federals, beginning within their lines, had excavated a tunnel under this salient. Placing within it several tons of powder they had waited until 3 a.m., when an attempt was made to fire the immense mass. The Confederates were sleeping within their works, unconscious of danger. The New York Herald of August 2, 1864, contained the following:

The mine was to have been exploded at 3 a.m., and batteries to open along the entire line at the same hour. The Ninth Corps, supported by the Eighth and Tenth Corps, and (Brigadier General Romeyn) Ayres' Division of the Fifth Corps, and three divisions of the Second Corps, were to charge immediately after the explosion. The fire having gone out twice, the explosion was delayed. At 4:40 the explosion took place and a deafening roar of artillery followed.

About fifteen feet of dirt intervened between the sleeping soldiers and all this powder. In a moment the superincumbent earth for a space forty by eighty feet (Note: Crater was 150 feet long, 97 feet wide and 30 feet deep — Alexander); was hurled upward, carrying with it the artillerymen, with their four guns, and three companies of soldiers. As the huge mass fell backwards it buried the startled men under immense clods — tons of dirt. Some of the artillery was thrown forward forty yards towards the enemy's line. The clay subsoil was broken and piled in large pieces, often several yards in diameter, which afterwards protected scores of Federals when surrounded in the crater. The early hour, the unexpected explosion, the concentrated fire of the enemy's batteries, startled and wrought confusion among brave men accustomed to battle. We extract again from *The Herald* of August 2:

At 5:30 the charge was made and the fort (crater), with part of the line on each side, was carried in a style to reflect credit on the veterans engaged. The second line was carried by the Second Division of the Second Corps and Brigadier General (Julius) White's Division of colored troops were ordered to carry the crest of the hill, but after advancing as far as the first line was checked by a galling fire, and the main body faltered and fell back. The greater number became utterly demoralized and part of them took refuge in the fort (crater), while the remainder, in confusion, ran to the rear as fast as possible in their retreat, embarrassing the white troops. Every effort to rally them failed, many of their officers were killed and the negroes retreated, until they were out of range of the musketry and cannister, which was ploughing through

their ranks. Among the missing are Brigadier General (William F.) Bartlett, who reached the fort (crater) with his command. General Bartlett had a cork leg, which was broken, and he was unable to leave the fort (crater).

The Confederate Charge

The federals now held the crater and the inner line. Generals Lee and Mahone arrived on the field about 7:30 a.m. A ravine which deepened on our right, ran parallel with this inner line, and was used by Mahone in which to form his brigade when preparing to attack. At 8 a.m., Mahone's Brigade, commanded by Colonel D(avid) A. Weisiger, brought from the right of Hoke's Division, was formed in this ravine and advanced to the assault. The Federals, concentrating a terrific fire of musketry and artillery, ploughed great gaps in these fearless Virginians. Nothing daunted, they pressed forward and captured the inner line. The loss of this brigade was heavy, both in men and officers, more than two hundred Virginians falling between the ravine and the captured works. The Federal troops, white and colored, fought with a desperation never witnessed on former battle-fields. The negroes, it is said, cried "No quarter." Mahone and Wright's Brigades took only twenty-nine of them prisoners. The Federal still held the crater and part of the line. Another charge was necessary and Wright's Georgia Brigade was ordered up from Anderson's Division. Wright's Brigade, forming in the ravine moved forward to drive the Federals from the line they still held. The enemy, expecting their attack, poured a volley into the Georgians that decimated their ranks, killing and wounding nearly every field officer in the brigade. The men rushing forward, breasting a storm of lead and iron, failed to oblique far enough to the right to recapture the whole line, out gained the line occupied by and contiguous to the line already captured by Weisiger, commanding Mahone's Brigade. Mahone's Brigade and Wright's Brigade had captured forty-two officers, three hundred and ninety men and twenty-nine negroes.

It was now about 10 a.m. General Grant made no effort to reenforce his line or to dislodge Wright and Mahone from the positions they held. A courier dashed up to General J. C. C.

Sanders, commanding Wilcox's Brigade, informing him that his brigade was wanted. The men were expecting this courier, as they were next in line, and they distinctly heard the shouts of Mahone's and Wright's men, followed by the heavy artillery firing, while the word had passed down the line that the salient had not been recaptured. General Sanders moved his brigade, consisting of the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Fourteenth Alabama regiments, to the left and occupied the ravine. There was no shade or water in this ravine, while the men were exposed nearly four hours to a scorching sun. The heat was almost beyond human endurance, strong men fainted and were carried to the rear. The waves of hot air at times were almost suffocating. For the first and only time the men were told what was expected of them. General Sanders explained the situation to the officers of the regiments. Each captain spoke to his men, urging them to retake the salient, or Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated. The men were ordered to fix their bayonets securely, to trail arms — not to fire, not to yell, but to move quietly up the side of the ravine, and then, every man run for his life to the breastworks. They were told that Generals Lee, Beauregard, Hill, Mahone, Hoke and every general of the army would watch them as they moved forward.

Charge of the Alabamians

At 1:30 p.m., the firing had almost ceased and the Federals, overcome with heat, did not expect an attack. Sanders formed his brigade and moved quietly up the side of the ravine. Hardly a word was spoken, for the Alabamians expected to die or retake the salient. The eye of General Lee was fixed on them. When they caught sight of the works their old feelings came back to them and yell they must. With the fury of a whirlwind they rushed upon the line they had been ordered to take. The movement was so unexpected and so quickly executed that only one shell was thrown into the brigade. The works gained, they found the enemy on the other side. It was stated that Lee, speaking to Beauregard, said — "Splendid!" Beauregard spoke with enthusiasm of the brilliant charge.

In an instant the Federal army was roused, and the batteries opened fire with a continuous roar. Only a breastwork divided Wilcox's Brigade from the Federals. A moment was

required for Sanders to reform, and his brigade mounted the inner line and forced the enemy backwards to the outer line, and the crater was full of white and black soldiers. The Confederates, surrounding it on every side, poured volley after volley into this pent-up mass of terrified negroes and their brave officers. The negroes ran in every direction and were shot down without a thought. Bayonets, swords and the butts of muskets were used. The deafening roar of artillery and musketry, the yells and imprecations of the combatants, drowned the commands of officers. A negro in the crater attempted to raise a white flag, and it was instantly pulled down by a Federal officer. The Federal colors were planted in a huge lump of dirt and waved until Sergeant Wallace, of the Eleventh Alabama, followed by others, seized them and tore them from the staff. Instantly a white flag was raised, and the living, who were not many, surrendered. The crater was won.

Sights at the Crater

"The ground around," says (Edward Alfred) Pollard, "was dotted with the fallen, while the sides and bottom of the crater were literally lined with dead, the bodies lying in every conceivable position. Some had evidently been killed with the butts of muskets as their crushed skulls and badly smashed faces indicated."

Within this crater — this hole 40 by 80 feet — were lying one hundred and thirty-six dead soldiers, besides the wounded. The soil was literally saturated with blood. General Bartlett was here, with his steel leg broken. He did not look as though he had been at a "diamond wedding," but was present at a "dance of death." A covered way for artillery was so full of dead that details were made to throw them out, that artillery might be brought in. The dead bodies formed a heap on each side. The Alabamians captured thirty-four officers, five hundred and thirty-six white and one hundred and thirty-one colored soldiers. The three brigades had seventeen stands of colors, held by seventeen as brave, sweaty, dirty, powder-stained fellows as ever wore the gray, who knew that, when presenting their colors to division headquarters, to each a furlough of thirty days would be granted.

Suffering of the Wounded

The crater was filled with wounded, to whom our men gave water. Adjutant Morgan Cleveland, of the Eighth Alabama Regiment, assisted a Federal Captain who was mortally wounded and suffering intensely. Near him lay a burly, wounded negro. The officer said he would die. The negro, raising himself on his elbow, cried out: "Thank God. You killed my brother when we charged, because he was afraid and ran. Now the rebels have killed you." Death soon ended the suffering of one and the hatred of the other. A darkness came down on the battlefield and the victors began to repair the salient. The crater was cleared of the dead and wounded. Men were found buried ten feet under the dirt. Twenty-two of the artillery company were missing. Four hundred and ninety-eight dead, and wounded Confederates were buried or sent to the hospitals. Between the lines lay hundreds of wounded Federals, who vainly called for water. These men had been without water since early morning. Some calling louder than others, their voices were recognized, and as their cries grew fainter, we knew their lives were ebbing away. Our men, risking their lives, carried water to some.

I find in my diary these lines: Sunday, July 31, 1864:

Everything comparatively quiet along the lines. Hundreds of Federal soldiers are lying in front of the crater exposed to a scorching sun; some are crying for water. The enemy's fire is too hot for a soldier to expose himself.

Late on Sunday evening a flag of truce was sent in and forwarded to General Lee. General Grant had asked permission to bury his dead and remove his wounded. The truce was granted, to begin on Monday at 5 a.m., and conclude at 9 a.m. Punctual to the hour the Federal details came on the field and by 9 a.m., had buried about three hundred. The work was hardly begun, and the truce was extended. Hour after hour was granted until it was evening before the field was cleared.

Pecularity of the Fighting

The crater combat, unlike other battles in Virginia, was a series of deeds of daring, of bloody hand-to-hand fighting,

where the survivor could count with a certainty the men he had slain. A few days ago a soldier said to me: "I killed two of the enemy at the crater; they were not three feet from me when they fell. I had followed the fortunes of the Confederacy from Williamsburg to Appomattox Court House, and had, to the morning of July 30, only seen two bayonet wounds — one received at Frazier's Farm; the other at Turkey Ridge, June 3, 1864." Men stood face to face at the crater. Often a bayonet thrust was given before the Minnie ball went crashing through the body. Every man took care of himself, intent on selling his life as dearly as possible. The negroes did not all stampede. They mingled with the white troops. The troops of Mahone, Wilcox and Wright were greeted with defiant yells, while their ranks were mowed down by withering fires. Many officers commanding negro troops held their commissions for bravery. Encouraged, threatened, emulating the white troops, the black men fought with desperation. Some Confederate soldiers recognized their slaves at the crater. Captain J., of the Forty-first Virginia, gave the military salute to "Ben" and "Bob," whom he had left hoeing corn down in Dinwiddle. If White's Division has occupied Reservoir Hill, Richmond would have been evacuated.

General Mahone had no staff officers. He asserted that they only consumed rations and filled the wagons with baggage. Private R. C. Sibley, clerk at headquarters, was chief, and Courier Nelson carried the rice and canteen. Lieutenant (Victor J. B.) Girardy, volunteer aide to General R. Wright, offered his services to Mahone at the crater, which were accepted. Girardy was one of the bravest men in Lee's army. General Lee watched this daring man. Insensible of fear, regardless of life, he was always found where danger was greatest. Three days after the battle Lee sent Girardy a commission as Brigadier General, and assigned him to command Wright's Brigade. Two weeks later, on the 16th of August, near Fort Harrison, he was killed. I never heard of a similar promotion in Lee's army, that of a lieutenant to a brigadier general.

The following order was read to the division after the battle. We have never seen it published and as it was the only one Mahone ever issued we think it worthy of presentation.

Headquarters, Anderson's Division, August 6, 1864.

(General Order No. —)

I. The glorious conduct of the three brigades of the division, Wilcox's, Mahone's and Wright's, and especially the first two, employed on the 30th of July in the expulsion of the enemy from his possession of a part of our line elsewhere than upon our own immediate front, and the magnificent results achieved in the execution of the work, devolves upon the undersigned the ever pleasing office of rendering his thanks and congratulations. The immortalized Beauregard has praised you. Your corps and army commanders have expressed their gratitude for your invaluable services on this occasion and their admiration of the splendid manner in which your duty was approached and performed. The enemy had sprung his first mine in the new plan by which he now seeks to penetrate our lines; he had gained possession of the crater and of the contiguous works; he had previously massed three corps and two divisions of another to prosecute his anticipated successes, and he had now given the order for the advance of his crowded lines, but, fortunately for the "hour," you have made the ground. With the tread of veterans and the determination of men, you charged the works upon which he had planted the hated flag. The integrity of the whole line was by your valor promptly reestablished, the enemy's grand effort to penetrate your rear signally defeated, and results achieved unparalleled in the history of the war, when compared to your strength and the losses you sustained.

With less than a force of three thousand men and with a casualty of four hundred and ninety eight, you killed seven hundred of his people, and by his own account wounded over three thousand. You captured one thousand one hundred and one prisoners, embracing eighty-seven officers, seventeen stands of colors, two guidons and one thousand nine hundred and sixteen stands of small arms. These are the results of the noble work

which you performed and which entitles your banner-scroll of honorable deeds to the inscription:

The Crater

Petersburg, 30th July, 1864

II. While thus we have so much cause for congratulation and pleasure; let us not and never forget the memory of the noble spirits who fell in the glorious work whose consummation we were spared to establish and commemorate.

William Mahone
Brigadier General

Note: Written by Captain Fagan at Havana, Hale County, Alabama, 1882

The Battle of the "Crater" As I Saw It

By Captain John C. Featherston of the 9th Alabama Regiment, (Wilcox's old) Brigade, Mahone's Division, A. P. Hill's Corps.

Captain Featherston was married in Virginia during the war and since resided at Lynchburg, Va.

On the night of the 29th of July, 1864, Wilcox's old brigade of Alabamians, at that time commanded by General J. C. C. Sanders, which was one of the five brigades composing Mahone's (formerly Anderson's) division, was occupying the breastworks in the right of Petersburg, at a point known as the Wilcox Farm. The division consisted at the time of Wilcox's "old brigade" of Alabamians; Wright's Georgia brigade, Harris' Mississippi, Mahone's Virginia brigade and Perry's Florida brigade (by whom commanded at the time I fail to remember). All was quiet in our immediate front, but an incessant and rapid firing was going on to our left and immediately in front of Petersburg, where the main lines of the hostile armies were within eighty yards of each other. There was a rumor that the Federals were attempting to undermine our works, and were keeping up this continuous fire to shield their operations.

The Confederate army had dug countermines in front of our works at several points, but failed to sink them sufficiently deep to intercept the enemy and thwart their efforts, as was subsequently proven.

Explosion of the Mine at "The Crater"

The Night of July 30

During the night of the 29th (I think about 2 o'clock), we received orders to get our men under arms and ready for action at a moment's notice, which convinced us that General Lee had information of which we were ignorant. We remained thus until between daybreak and sunrise of the 30th of July, when suddenly the quiet and suspense was broken by a terrific explosion on our left. The news soon reached our lines that the enemy had exploded a mine under a fort then known as "Elliot's Salient," subsequently named the "Crater," from its resemblance in shape to the crater of a volcano, and during the terrible struggle, one in active operation, caused by the smoke and dust which ascended therefrom.

Mahone's division was the "supporting division" of the army while in front of Petersburg, and consequently whenever the enemy were making serious attacks, this command, or a part of it, was, when reinforcements were needed, sent to the point assailed. Hence it was in many hard fought battles while the army was in front of Petersburg.

Of the many battles in which this command engaged none will equal or even approximate such stubborn and bloody fighting, as occurred at the battle of the "Crater," where the loss on the Federal side was 5,000 and on the Confederate side 1,800 (Note: Official Federal estimate: Federal losses 4,008, Confederate estimate 1,200) out of the small number engaged, and all on about two acres of land. For quite a while after the explosion all was quiet but then commenced a severe cannonade by the Yankees, which was promptly replied to by the Confederate artillery.

Preparations for the Counter Attack

Soon orders were received for two of our brigades to move to the point of attack. The Virginia and Georgia brigades, being

on the right of the Division, were withdrawn from the works in such a manner as not to be seen by the enemy who were intrenched in strong force immediately in our front, and dispatched as directed. This occurred about 8 or 9 o'clock. About 11 o'clock orders came for the Alabama (Wilcox's) brigade, then commanded by General J. C. C. Sanders. This order was delivered by the gallant officer, R. R. Henry, of Mahone's staff. We were then quietly withdrawn from the works, thus leaving the space which the three brigades had covered unoccupied, except by a few skirmishers (one man every twenty paces), commanded by Major J(ames) M. Crow of the 9th Alabama Regiment, a brave officer.

By a circuitous route we arrived at Blandford Cemetery and then entered a "zig-zag" or circuitous covered way through which we had to pass in single file in order to shield ourselves from the fire of the enemy. We came out of the covered way into a ravine which ran parallel with the enemy's line of fortifications, and also of our own in which was the fort subsequently the "Crater" and then occupied by the enemy.

Mahone Gives His Orders for Retaking the Fort at the Crater

As we came out of the covered way we were met by General Mahone, himself on foot, who called the officers to him and explained the situation and gave us orders for the fight. He informed us that the brigades of Virginians and Georgians had successfully charged and taken the works on the left of the fort, but that the fort was still in possession of the enemy, as was also part of the works on the right of it, and that we of the Alabama brigade were expected to storm and capture the fort, as we were the last of the reserves. He directed us to move up the ravine as far as we could walk unseen by the enemy, and then to get down and crawl still further up until we were immediately in front of the fort, then to order the men to lie down on the ground until our artillery in our rear could draw the fire of the enemy's artillery, which was posted on a ridge beyond their main line and covered the fort.

When this was accomplished our artillery would cease firing, and then we should rise up and move forward in a stooping posture at "trail arms," with bayonets fixed, and should not yell or fire a gun until we drew the fire of the infantry in the

fort, and the enemy's main lines, and then we should charge at a "double quick," so as to get under the walls of the fort before the enemy could fire their park of some fifty pieces of artillery, stationed on the hill beyond their works. He further informed us that he had ordered our men who then occupied the works on either side of the fort to fire at the enemy when they should show themselves above the top of the fort or along the main line, so as to shield us as much as possible from their fire. As we were leaving him he said: "General Lee is watching the results of your charge."

"Load, Fix Your Bayonets!"

The officers then returned to their places in line and ordered the men to load and fix bayonets. Immediately the brigade moved up the ravine as ordered. As we started, a soldier, worse disfigured by dirt, powder and smoke than any I had before seen, came up to my side and said: "Captain, can I go in this charge with you?" I replied, "Yes. Who are you?" He said: "I am (I have forgotten his name), and I belong to the South Carolina Regiment — was blown up in that fort and I want to even up with them. Please take my name and if I get killed inform my officers of it." I said: "I have no time now for writing. How high up did they blow you?" He said: "I don't know, but as I was going up I met the company commissary coming down and he said, 'I will try to have breakfast ready by the time you get down.'"

I have often since wished I had taken his name and regiment, for he was truly a "rough diamond," a brave fellow. He went in the charge with us, but I do not know whether he survived it or not. I never saw him again.

The Alabama Brigade

This brigade was composed of the 8th Alabama, Captain W. W. Mordecai, commanding; 9th Alabama, Colonel J. H(orace) King, commanding; 10th Alabama, Captain W. L. Brewster, commanding; 11th Alabama, Lieutenant Colonel George P. Tayloe, commanding; 14th Alabama, Captain Elias Folk, commanding.

This (Wilcox's old brigade), was commanded and led in this battle by the gallant and intrepid Brigadier General J. C. C.

Sanders, with Captain George Clark, assistant adjutant general, another brave officer.

The 9th Alabama being on the right of the brigade, was in front as we ascended the ravine or depression to form line of battle. I copy from the "Petersburg Express" the names of the officers who commanded the companies of this regiment, and would do the same for the other regiments but for the unfortunate fact that they were not given. They were as follows:

Company A, Captain Hays, commanding; Company C, Sergeant T. Simmons, commanding; Company D, Captain J. W. Cannon, commanding; Company E, Lieutenant M. H. Todd, commanding, Company F, Captain John C. Featherston, commanding; Company H, iLieutenant R. Fuller, commanding; Company L, Lieutenant B. T. Taylor, commanding; Company K, Lieutenant T. B. Baugh, commanding.

By the report of Captain George Clark, assistant adjutant general, Wilcox's Alabama brigade of five regiments carried into the battle of the "crater" 628 men, and of this number it lost 89. The brigade early in the war numbered about 5,000.

It will be observed that such had been our losses in former battles that regiments were commanded by captains and companies by sergeants, some of the companies having been so depleted that they had been merged into other companies.

After we crawled up in front of the fort, and about two hundred yards therefrom, we lay down flat on the ground, and our batteries in the rear opened fire on the enemy's artillery in order to draw their fire. This was done that we might charge without being subjected to their artillery fire, in addition to that of the fort and the main line, which was only eighty yards beyond the fort.

But the enemy appeared to understand our object and declined to reply.

Forward! Charge!

Our guns soon ceased firing, and we at once arose and moved forward, as directed, in quick time, at trail arms, with bayonets fixed.

In a short distance we came in view of the enemy — both infantry and artillery — and then was presented one of the most awfully grand cruel spectacles of that terrible war. One brigade of 628 men were charging a fort in an open field, filled with the enemy to the number of over 5,000, and supported by a park of artillery said to number fifty pieces. The line of advance was in full view of the two armies, and in range of the guns of fully twenty thousand men, including both sides. When we came within range we saw the flash of the sunlight on the enemy's guns, as they were leveled above the walls of the wrecked fort. Then came a stream of fire and the awful roar of battle. This volley seemed to awaken the demons of hell, and appeared to be a signal for everybody within range of the fort to commence firing. We raised a yell and made a dash in order to get under the walls of the fort before their artillery could open up upon us, but in this we were unsuccessful. The air seemed literally filled with missiles.

The Virginians, Georgians and South Carolinians commenced firing from the flanks of the fort and at the enemy's main line, as did our artillery, and the enemy's infantry and artillery from all sides opened upon us.

"Into The Mouth of Hell Charged the Six Hundred"

On we went, as it seemed to us, literally "into the mouth of hell." When we got to the walls of the fort we dropped down on the ground to get the men in order and let them get their breath. While waiting we could hear the Yankee officers in the fort trying to encourage their men, telling them among other things to "remember Fort Pillow." (In that fort Forrest's men had found negroes and whites together. History tells what they did for them.) Then commenced a novel method of fighting. There were quite a number of abandoned muskets, with bayonets on them, lying on the ground around the fort. Our men began pitching them over the embankment and over we went, intending to harpoon the men inside, and both sides threw cannon balls and fragments of shells and earth, which by the impact of the explosion had been pressed as hard as brick. Everybody seemed to be shooting at the fort, and doubtless many were killed by their friends. I know some of the Yankees were so killed.

In almost less time than I can tell it we were in condition to go in. Colonel J. H. King ordered the men near him to put their hats on their bayonnets and quickly raise them above the fort, which was done, and, as he anticipated, they were riddled with bullets. Then he ordered us over the embankment, and over we went, and we were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle of life and death. The enemy shrank back, and the death grapple continued until most of the Yankees found in there were killed. This slaughter would not have been so great had not our men found negro soldiers in the fort with the whites. This was the first time we had met negro troops, and the men were enraged at them for being there and at the whites for having them there.

Compartments of the Pit Made at the Crater

The explosion had divided the pit into two compartments. As soon as we had possession of the larger one, the Yankees in the smaller one cried out that they would surrender. We told them to come over the embankment. Two of them started with their guns in their hands and were shot and fell back. We heard those remaining cry: "They are showing no quarter; let us sell our lives as dearly as possible." We then told them to come without their guns, which they did, and all the remainder, about thirty in number, surrendered and were ordered to the rear. In the confusion and their eagerness to get beyond that point, they went across the open field, along the same route over which we had charged them. Their artillery, seeing them go to the rear, as we were told, under the flag of truce, thought that it was our men repulsed and retreating and they at once opened fire on them, killing and wounding quite a number of their own men. One poor fellow had his arm shot off just as he started to the rear, and returning, said: "I could bear it better if my own men had not done it."

This practically ended the fight inside the fort, but the two armies outside continued firing at this common center and it seemed to us that the shot, shell and musket balls came from every point of the compass and the mortar shells rained down from above. They had previously attacked from below. So this unfortunate fort was one of the few points of the universe which had been assailed from literally every quarter.

The Aftermath and Incidents — General Bartlett's Cork Leg

The slaughter was fearful. The dead were piled up on each other. In one part of the fort I counted eight bodies deep. There were but few wounded compared with the killed.

There was an incident which occurred in the captured fort that made quite an impression on me. Among the wounded was Yankee General Bartlett. He was lying down and could not rise. Assistance was offered him, but he informed those who were assisting him that his leg was broken, and so it was, but it proved to be an artificial leg, made of cork.

One of the officers ordered a couple of negroes to move him, but he protested, and I believe he was given white assistance.

This general afterwards, so I have been informed, became an honored citizen of Virginia, though at that time, I must say, I never would have believed such a thing possible. One of our soldiers seeing the cork leg and springs knocked to pieces waggishly said, "General, you are a fraud; I thought that was a good leg when I shot it."

As the dust and smoke cleared away the firing seemed to lull, but there was no entire cessation of firing that evening. Indeed, it was continued for months by the sharpshooters.

After dark tools were brought with which we reconstructed the wrecked fort. In doing this we buried the dead down in the fort, covering them with earth. The fire of the enemy was entirely too severe to carry them out. We were therefore forced to stand on them and defend our positions while we remained in the fort, which was until the following Monday night.

As we went over the embankment into the fort, one of my sergeants, Andrew McWilliams, a brave fellow, was shot in the mouth, the ball did not cut his lips. It came out of the top of his head. He was evidently yelling with his mouth wide open. He fell on top of the embankment with his head hanging in the fort. We pulled him down in the fort, and that night carried him out and buried him.

During the night we strengthened the wrecked fort and in doing so unearthed numbers of Confederate soldiers who were killed and buried by the explosion. I remember in one place there were eight fellows lying side by side with their coats under their heads. They seemed never to have moved after the explosion.

The Confederate Line Restored — Sharpshooting July 31

The recapture of the fort restored our lines in status quo.

That night we slept in the fort, over those who slept "the sleep that knows no waking." The morning came as clear and the day was hot and dry as was the preceding one. The sharpshooters were exceedingly alert, firing every moment, each side momentarily expecting active hostilities to be renewed. While the wounded in the fort and our trenches had been removed during the night and we were being cared for, the ground between the main lines of the two armies was literally covered by wounded and dead Federals, who fell in advancing and retreating. We could hear them crying for relief, but the firing was so severe that none dared to go to them either by day or night.

A Flag of Truce

About noon or a little later, there went up a flag of truce immediately in our front. The flag was a white piece of cloth about a yard square on a new staff. General Sanders ordered the sharpshooters to cease firing. Then a Yankee soldier with a clean, white shirt and blue pants jumped on top of their works holding the flag and was promptly followed by two elegantly uniformed officers. General Sanders asked those of us near him if we had a white handkerchief. All responded, "No." A private soldier nearby said to the men around him, "Boys, some of you take off your shirt and hand it to the general," to which another replies: "Never do that; they will think we have hoisted the black flag."

The general finally got a handkerchief, which, though not altogether suitable for a drawing room, he and Captain George Clark, assistant adjutant general, tied to the ramrod of a mus-

ket, and Captain Clark, with one man carrying the improvised flag, went forward to meet the Yankee flag. (I have frequently thought that the "get up" of these flags of truce illustrated the condition of the armies.) They met halfway — about 40 yards from each line. After a few minutes interview they handed Captain Clark a paper. They then withdrew to their respective sides. In handing the communication to General Sanders, Captain Clark said: "They are asking for a truce to bury their dead and remove their wounded."

The communication was forwarded to the proper authorities and proved to be from General Burnside, who commanded the Federal troops in front, but not being in accordance with usages and civilities of war, it was promptly returned, with information that whenever a like request came from the general commanding the army of the Potomac to the general commanding the army of Northern Virginia, it would be entertained. Within a few hours the Federals sent another flag of truce, conveying a communication, which was properly signed and addressed, and the terms of the truce were agreed on. These terms were that they could remove their wounded and could bury their dead in a ditch or grave to be dug just half way between the two lines. They brought in their detail, including many negroes, and the work was commenced and was continued for about four hours. In that ditch, about one hundred feet in length, were buried seven hundred white and negro soldiers. The dead were thrown in indiscriminately, three bodies deep.

The Dragon's Teeth

As soon as the work was commenced I witnessed one of the grandest sights I ever saw. Where not a man could be seen a few minutes before, the two armies rose up out of the ground, and the face of the earth seemed to be peopled with men. It seemed an illustration of Cadmus sowing the dragon's teeth. Both sides came over their works, and meeting in the center, mingled, chatted and exchanged courtesies, as though they had not sought in desperate effort to take each other's lives but an hour before.

A Chat With General Potter, But Not With General Ferrero

During the truce I met (Brigadier) General R(obert) B. Potter, who commanded, as he informed me, a Michigan divi-

sion in Burnside's corps. He was exceedingly polite and affable, and extended to me his canteen with an invitation to sample the contents, which I did, and found it nothing objectionable. He then handed me a good cigar, and for a time we smoked "the pipe of peace." In reply to a question from me as to their loss in the battle on Saturday, he replied that they had lost five thousand men. While we were talking a remarkably handsome Yankee general in the crowd came near us. I asked General Potter who he was and was informed that he was (Brigadier) General (Edward) Ferrero, who commanded the negro troops, I said: "I have some of his papers, which I captured in the fort," and showed them to General Potter. He then said: "Let me call him up and introduce him, and we will show him the papers and guy him." I replied, however, that we down South were not in the habit of recognizing as our social equals those who associated with negroes.

He then asked me to give him some of Ferrero's papers. He wanted them for a purpose. I did so. The others I kept, and they are now lying before me as I write.

He also asked me to point out to him some of our generals, several of whom were then standing on the embankment of the wrecked fort. (I noticed that none of our generals except Sanders, who had charge of affairs, came over and mingled with the crowd.) I pointed out to him General Harris, of Mississippi; A. P. Hill, and finally pointed out General Mahone, who was dressed in a suit made out of tent cloth, with a roundabout jacket. Be it remembered that General Mahone was quite small, and did not weigh much, if any over one hundred and twenty-five pounds. Potter laughingly said: "Not much man, but a big general."

When the dead were buried each side returned to their entrenchments, and soon the sharpshooters were firing at each other when and wherever seen. Truly, "War is hell."

Papers and Letters

I am not writing this alone from memory, but, in addition thereto, from letters, contemporaneously written to my wife, whom I had but a short time before married, which letters,

as well as extracts from Richmond papers of that date, as contemporary records, will probably prove of sufficient interest to publish in these columns.

Sanders' Alabama brigade continued to occupy the "Crater," which they had captured on Saturday about 2 o'clock, until Monday night, August 1, when under cover of darkness we were relieved by another brigade, as was also the gallant Virginia brigade, which had, by a superb charge, captured the entrenchments on the left of the "Crater."

Captain Featherston's Letters Written in the Trenches
In the Trenches, Near Petersburg, August 1, 1864.

My Dear Wife — We fought a desperate fight day before yesterday (Saturday). I, through the mercy and protection of an all-powerful God, escaped with, I may say, no injury.

Wright's and Mahone's brigades charged and captured the works and failed to capture the fort. We were then ordered to charge the works through an open field, and the charge was the most successful one we ever made. The men clambered over the works as though there were no enemy there. The slaughter was terrible.

Our brigade (Sanders) is highly complimented in the morning papers, both in Petersburg and Richmond.

I will write you all the particulars as I have time.

General Grant mined our works and blew a fort up, and in the confusion captured it, but it was a dead business for him.

Our entire loss, 800 men; their loss (5,000) five thousand. I have never seen such slaughter since the war commenced.

I will write more.

Your affectionate husband
J. C. Featherston

Camp Ninth Alabama Regiment, Near Petersburg,
August 2, 1864.

My dear wife:

I wrote you a note yesterday while in our recaptured fortifications, informing you that I was not killed in our desperate fight on Saturday, the 30th ultimo, but gave you very little news otherwise. You must excuse its brevity, for, considering the circumstances, I think I did well to write at all.

The enemy's line was only about seventy-five yards from ours, and we were shooting at each other at every opportunity, and the sand was flying over everything, and the general noise and confusion incident on such occasions all tended to keep me from writing more.

On the morning of the 30th, about an hour before day, we received orders to leave our camp and move up to our place in the breastworks (which was about one hundred yards distant), and to be prepared for an attack. Nothing unusual occurred. The skirmishing was about as usual, and so was the cannonading, until just about 5 o'clock a.m., the earth seemed to tremble, and the next instant there was a report that seemed to deafen all nature. Everything for a while remained quiet, as if in wonder and astonishment at such an explosion; But 'twas only for a moment; then the artillery from each side would have drowned the report of the loudest thunderbolt. Then could be seen horsemen dashing to and fro, bearing dispatches and orders. Every man was at his post and ready for anything.

Soon after we received information that Grant had sprung a mine under one of our forts, and a portion of our breastworks, down on the lines, about a mile to our left, and opposite the city, which was held by some South Carolinians, Georgians and Virginians. This scene considerably demoralized the troops nearest the fort and caused them to give way, and before the smoke from the explosion had cleared away, the enemy,

having their infantry massed, hurled brigade after brigade through the breach thus effected, until the entire place was alive with them.

Three brigades (Wright's Georgia, Mahone's Virginia and Sander's Alabama (Wilcox's old)), of our (Mahone's) Division) were ordered to move down quickly and retake the works at all hazards. We moved down and took our position in a little ravine in front of the works held by the enemy. The artillery from both sides was being used most vigorously. Soon Mahone's brigade and Wright's were ordered to charge the breastworks on the left of the fort. These two brigades charged in gallant style, and after a severe fight succeeded in retaking the breastworks on the left of the fort. As soon as they were safely lodged in the works the prisoners commenced coming back, and to our very astonishment a large number of negroes, as black as the ace of spades, with cartridge boxes on and in every sense of the word equipped as soldiers.

After the works on the left of the fort were recaptured, we, Wilcox's old brigade, were then ordered to storm the fort. Everything was fully explained to the officers and men. Desperate as it seemed, when the command "Forward!" was given all moved up the hill as though we were on drill. As soon as we arose the hill we saw the fort, about two hundred yards distant. The ground was perfectly level.

The fort was literally covered with Yankees and bristled with bayonets as the quills of the "fretful porcupine." As soon as we became visible the infantry and the artillery opened up a most destructive fire, then the command, "Charge" rang out along the line, and on we went like a terrible avalanche and as fast as possible, no man being permitted to fire until he reached the fort. In the fort the enemy were crowded, but undaunted by numbers, our boys commenced scaling the sides of the fort. The enemy kept up such a fire that it seemed like a second Vesuvius belching forth its fire. Then came the "tug of war." The enemy had shouted

"No quarters." We then gave them what they justly deserved. There we were on one side of the walls of the fort and the Yankees on the other. The fight was thus the bloodiest of the war, considering the numbers engaged. The fight lasted in this manner for nearly half an hour, when they called for quarters, and we, being sickened by the slaughter as well as awfully tired of the fight, granted them quarters. All that we had not killed surrendered, and I must say we took some of the negroes prisoners. But we will not be held culpable for this when it is considered the numbers we had already slain, also the number of good men we were losing by the enemy's dreadful artillery fire. The shells were bursting in our midst all the time killing men on both sides.

As soon as they surrendered we hoisted our flag from the ramparts and took ten of their stands of colors down and sent them to the rear in triumph. Then a shout rang out along our lines from one end to the other. It is said that General Lee, who was looking on when he saw we were successful, pulled off his hat and waved it, and said: "Well done." I heard (Brigadier) General (William N.) Pendleton of the artillery say it was "one of the most brilliant successes of the campaign, for the enemy expected great results from it, and had been caught in their own trap."

Our loss is about 1,000 in all. That of the enemy about 4,000 or 5,000. One thousand being killed dead, about 1,200 or 1,500 taken prisoners, and the remainder wounded. We captured ten stands of colors, and a large number of small arms.

The fighting was kept up until near night from the breastworks, which was only distant about seventy-five yards, and the wounded (enemy's) had to lie out between the two lines all night. About 2 o'clock the next day (Sunday) they sent over a flag of truce, and one of our officers, Captain Clark, A. A. Gen., met the flag half way and demanded the nature of it. He was told that the Federal general wished to communicate

with General Lee, which was granted, and the correspondence was kept until Sunday night. The wounded had to lie out another night and day, but on Monday the flag of truce again appeared and the terms agreed on. Then and there was one of the grandest sights I ever saw. Both armies, within seventy-five yards of each other, though invisible now arose up out of the ground as if by magic, and it seemed that the world was filled with people in a moment. A center line was established, and our men would carry their dead and wounded to the line and their men would bury their dead and both armies met between the lines and were in conversation with each other all the time (four hours). They acknowledged we had whipped them badly and caught them in their own trap.

We are all confident of our ability to whip them any way they may come.

Since we whipped them so badly, they have become as quiet as possible, more so than usual.

Our brigade is sent here where we will have little to do and can rest, and let the others handle the Yankees for awhile.

My health is good. I got a terrible fall in the fight the other day, and I think it occurred from the explosion of a shell near me. I have nearly recovered from it now.

Your affectionate husband,
J. C. Featherston

P. S. Here is the congratulatory order sent by General A. P. Hill a few days after the battle:
Headquarters Third Army Corps, August 4, 1864.
General Order No. 17:

Anderson's Division, commanded by Brigadier General Mahone, so distinguished itself by its successes during the present campaign as to merit the special mention

of the corps commander, and he tenders to the division, its officers and men, his thanks for the gallantry displayed by them whether attacking or attacked. Thirty-one stands of colors, fifteen pieces of artillery and 4,000 prisoners are the proud mementoes which signalize its valor and entitle it to the admiration and gratitude of our country.

A. P. Hill

The greatest failure of General Grant in all his military career was undoubtedly the disastrous repulse of his assault on Lee at the Crater. General E. P. Alexander, though at the time absent on wounded furlough had been in charge of the Confederate artillery defenses at that point, and with a thorough knowledge of the situation, he has in his Memoirs given an exceedingly clear and comprehensive account of the assault and the reason of its non-success. The life-like pictures by Captains Fagan, Featherston and Young of the recapture of the crater proper by the Alabama brigade should be studied in connection with the general situation pictured by Alexander. It is certain that Lee was surprised. He did believe that the enemy were undermining and for weeks had been countermining at various points, and though his engineers had been cautioned to guard Elliot's salient where the explosion occurred, they had been unsuccessful. The Alabama brigade had indeed been kept under arms for hours just before the explosion, as told by Captain Featherston, but the brigade was far away from the actual site of this mine. It was under arms to go wherever it might be needed. Lee knew a blow was impending. Grant, by massing heavy forces near Deep Bottom north of the James, and seriously threatening Richmond, had with fine strategy induced the Confederate leader to reinforce that point until at the time of the explosion, Lee had left for the ten miles of his Petersburg lines only 18,000 men, 1,800 to a mile; which, excluding officers, would not leave him quite a man to each yard of his defenses; whereas Grant had quietly brought back his Deep Bottom reinforcements and now had 60,000 men massed near the mine when it exploded. "Heavy guns and mortars, 81 in all, and about the same number of field guns" had been placed in position so as to concentrate their fire; sand-bags, gabions, fascines, etc., had been prepared and even pontoon

trains had been made ready to lay bridges over which to pursue Lee's army when, after being driven from its entrenchments, it should be flying over the Appomattox River.

The mine was fired successfully while the Confederates were asleep, and yet the assailants were repulsed with a loss of nearly 5,000. Truly does General Alexander say it is difficult to account for this result. The reasons he gives are, first, there were too many of the assailants — they were in each other's way. Secondly, the wonderful coolness and courage of the Confederates, parts of which was blown up, was not demoralized. Thirdly, on the right of the crater was one Confederate gun protected by an embrasure, and on the left 500 yards off in a depression behind our lines were four guns that bore upon the assailants, besides some half a dozen Coehorn mortars in different ravines, and sixteen guns in the sunken Jerusalem plank road 600 yards to the rear.

But the Confederates appear to have had no reserve infantry at hand. They collected as soon as possible a small force in a trench 250 yards in the rear and with these and with the men in the trenches, right and left, resisted such feeble attempts as were made to advance from the crater, until four small regiments were brought in from the left. And thus the Federals were kept in the crater and such trenches as they had been able to capture for over five hours until Mahone arrived at 10 to begin the effort to recapture the ground. The Virginians promptly drove them from a portion of the trenches. The Alabamians came and at one o'clock completed the work.

The assault failed because it was not made as General Grant could have made it with the means he had at hand. The fault was in the plan of attack. It should have been considered beforehand that it would be extremely difficult to march a storming party across such an obstacle as would be a crater formed by the expected explosion — the best disciplined troops would be thrown into utter confusion in crossing and must reform beyond; that one line should cross before becoming confused with another, and that only under the most competent leadership would even brave men willingly step out of and beyond the shelter of the crater. It was therefore essential that the most thoroughly tested troops and the very best officers should

be selected. Think of Napoleon or General Lee selecting by lot the men and the leader to make an assault that might decide the campaign, yet that was the outcome of preparations that Grant had been making for a month and three days; among them they selected by lot (Brigadier General James H.) Ledlie's division to lead. As it was Ledlie himself and Ferrero, leading the colored division, soon took to bomb-proofs. Of course there were many brave men and gallant officers, like General Bartlett, in the charge. Ledlie's division, as far as the men and their immediate officers were concerned, may have been as good as any. The fault was in the leadership, and especially in the plan. However gallant the troops, they were helpless when the commingled masses in the crater became, as they certainly would be, when jumbled together, a mob instead of an integral part of a great army.

The assault, from which so much was expected, was really a failure from the moment when in the early morning the assailants stopped in the crater huddled into a confused mass. Nor could it be expected that these troops could hold the position. The crater was not a fort; it had no guns mounted, no ditches in front, no ledges for men to stand on, and it could be and was approached by the confederates coming from right and left under the protection of their breastworks.

It is not strange that a military court should afterwards censure Generals Burnside, Ledlie, Ferrero and (Brigadier General Orlando B.) Willcox, and Colonel (Zenas R.) Bliss, acting Brigadier, while the Confederate authorities complimented all their forces that were in this engagement.

CHAPTER XVI

From August 1864 to March 1865

The following contemporaneous account is given in a letter written by Captain Fagan to his sister, of two battles one being the Battle of Poplar Springs Church, August 21, 1864.

Petersburg, Aug. 22, 1864

Dear Sister—

For the past week we have had stirring times and this morning is our first day of rest. The weather has been miserable, raining. The roads are almost impassable. We returned last night from another bloody engagement.

On last Thursday Genl. Mahone with (Brigadier General Thomas L.) Clingman's, (Brigadier General Alfred H.) Colquitt's and his Brigade, cooperating with (Major General Henry) Heth, commanding (Brigadier General Joseph R.) Davis, (Brigadier General William H.) Walker's and (Brigadier General James J.) Archer's Brigades of his Division, attempted to dislodge the enemy from his position on the Weldon R.R. The point held by the enemy is a dense wood, with gallberry swamps. A heavy rain fell during the entire day of the engagement. By a flank movement Gen. Mahone succeeded in capturing 600 of the Yanks and Gen. Heth 1600, making 2000 men, and 96 officers, among whom was Bgd. Gen. Hays, and several Cols. and Brigadiers. Our loss was very light. Not having enough troops we were unable to follow up our success, and night came in ending a brilliant affair on our part.

During this engagement Wilcox's, Harris' and Wright's Brigades of this Division were on the James River, repelling the attempts of the enemy to effect a lodgment there. On the night of the 20th these Brigades returned to this point, worn down with marching and fighting, having been exposed to drenching rains for

several days and nights. In the meantime the enemy still held possession of the Railroad.

Yesterday was Sunday, and to us a bloody day. At 1 o'clock in the morning Wilcox's, Harris', Finegan's, Perrins' and Wright's Brigades of this Division worn out and drenched with rain started on a flank movement around the enemy on the railroad. (Brigadier General Johnson) Hagood's S. C. and (Brigadier General Alfred M.) Scales' N. C. with a part of (Brigadier General Edward L.) Thomas' Ga. Brigades accompanied the expedition, all under the command of Maj. Genl. Mahone. About 12 m. this force was in position near the Poplar Spring Church, on the Vaughan Road, which makes with the R. Road an obtuse angle. The command advanced in fine order, driving the enemy's pickets, capturing about 50 of them. The enemy's picket line was about a half mile in front of their fortified position. The command advanced through an open field and when within about 500 yards of the enemy's works he opened on our command with grape and cannister. The command pressed forward, and reached the enemy's works. The fire poured on our ranks was the most severe of the war. The enemy were in three lines, strongly fortified, with scores of guns in position. Finnegan's and Hagood's Brigades in front, broke in confusion, which created a panic among the supporting lines. Soon the entire line gave way, and the enemy executing a fine flank movement succeeded in capturing nearly all of Finegan's and Hagood's Brigades. Every effort was made to rally the men, Brg. Genl. J. C. C. Saunders, comd. Wilcox' Brigade was killed; also Capt. Shaun, A. A. Genl. of Finnegan's Brigade. The troops after falling back beyond range rallied, but their loss was so severe that the attack was not renewed. Our loss was between 12 and 1800 men. We accomplished nothing. General Heth attacked the enemy on the left, capturing about 400 prisoners. Such "brilliant" movements as these will so deplete our army that Grant will soon take Richmond.

Sanders, then a student at the University of Alabama, left it when the war began, to come into the army as a Captain of the 11th Alabama. He had risen to the command of his regiment at Spotsylvania after Perrin had fallen and led the Brigade in the charge for the recapture of the salient. For his gallantry he was made Brigadier General May 31, 1864, succeeding General Perrin. Sanders was a born soldier, straight as an arrow, and was especially attractive in person and manner. He was said by the Federal soldiers who saw him during the truce after the Crater to be the handsomest and best dressed man they saw. Intellect sparkled in his clear blue eyes, and he was as modest and unassuming in private intercourse as he was chivalrous and daring in battle. His loss to the army and to the State of Alabama was irreparable. Our loss in the battle above described by Captain Fagan was 11, killed, wounded and missing.

At the battle of Reams' Station on August 25th, the 8th was in reserve and lost nothing.

From this point the regiment returned to Petersburg, and our Brigade, relieving Finegan's, was stationed near Battery No. 27, where it remained until October 27, when at the battle of Burgess Mills it was only slightly engaged and lost 7 men, wounded. After this fight it returned to its old position near Battery No. 30, where it stayed until November 7, when it was removed to the right of our lines in front of Petersburg, and there built huts for the winter.

Hilary A. Herbert, still at home and suffering from the wound received at the Wilderness, was promoted to be Colonel of the Regiment November 2, 1864, and shortly thereafter was retired for disability, incident to the service. Major John P. Emrich, who at the Wilderness was absent on account of sickness, shortly afterwards returned to the regiment and was in command of it as Major until November 2, 1864, when he was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel. On the same day Captain Duke Nall, of Co. K., was promoted to be Major. Captain Nall at the Wilderness was shot through the lungs, but it was supposed he had entirely recovered and as he returned to the regiment, where he did gallant service until after his promotion; during the winter of 1863-64 he was attacked by pneu-

monia. Inflammation set up in his old wound, and his death resulted. The regiment never had two braver or more faithful officers than Colonel Emrich and Major Nall.

Lieutenant Colonel Emrich remained in command up to Appomattox, where he was parolled. By the promotion of Captain Nall of Co. K, to be Major, Lieutenant William L. Fagan (whose diary is so often quoted in these records as "Captain" Fagan's) ceased to be lieutenant and became Captain of Co. K, and he too was at Appomattox, as will hereafter appear.

On December 6th Mahone's Division, including the 8th Alabama marched on an expedition the purpose of which was to intercept a large body of the enemy under (Brigadier) General (Gouverneur Kemble) Warren which was raiding to destroy the railroad. It reached Barbour's Mill December 8, and went through Dinwiddie C. H. On the 9th it left camp at dawn. On Saturday it again left camp at dawn, moving parallel with the railroad and skirmishing with the enemy. It returned to camp on December 12, having marched that day 20 miles. This march was through rain and sleet and snow, was altogether one of the most distressing and fatiguing marches made by our men.

It was while the regiment was before Petersburg that the Historical Memoranda from which many of the facts above narrated are gleamed, were made out and signed by Lieutenant Colonel John P. Enrich, on the 1st day of January, 1865.

Here follows the consolidated roll of the regiment, "Exclusive of Field and Staff," dated the 31st day of December, 1864, (see Appendix A), and then a recapitulation, including field and staff, made out and signed by Colonel Emrich on the next day, the 1st of January, 1865. A study of these casualties will prove instructive and it is highly creditable to the conscripts, most of whom no doubt were native Alabamians. The conscripts came to the regiment at Bank's Ford, sometime prior to the battle of Salem Church. They had been in none of the bloody battles of 1862. They numbered altogether 167. On the 1st day of January, 1865, only three of them had deserted—not 1½ percent—a much less percentage than of the volunteers. They had lost in killed and died of wounds seventeen; while fifteen of their number had died of disease.

It will be observed that up to the time of Colonel Emrich's recapitulation the killed, died of wounds and disease, amount to 448, which is more than 31 percent of the actual number of officers and men mustered into the regiment.

Colonel Emrich's report it is proper to state, that most of the deserters from the regiment are still in the Confederate service:

Recapitulation

Total commissioned officers	102
Total originally enlisted men	879
Total recruits received	440
<hr/>	
Aggregate	1,421
Deduct casualties	921
<hr/>	
Aggregate remaining	500
<hr/>	
Killed	226
Died of disease	151
Died of wounds	71
Resigned	24
Discharged	145
Transferred	98
Missing by capture or otherwise	41
<hr/>	
Total Casualties	921
<hr/>	
Aggregate wounded	734
Aggregate disabled	85
Captured	257
Exchanged	124
Died	24
Oath to United States	26
<hr/>	
Total	174
<hr/>	
Not returned	83

I hereby certify that the foregoing record of names, dates, facts and historical memoranda, is correctly given.

John P. Emrich, Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding
Station: Near Petersburg, Virginia

Dated: January 1, 1865

January 25, 1865—Captain Fagan's diary records that the division left camp and marched up the Darbytown road by Burgess's Mill, in another effort to intercept raiders who were going in the direction of Weldon, N. C. This march was continued through Dinwiddie C.H., passing by "Smoky Ordinary" and to within five miles of Belleville, without seeing the enemy; and the division only got back to camp on January 31th. The roads had been badly cut up by passing wagon trains and were now frozen hard. The weather was intensely cold, and men and officers suffered agonies from sore feet. Our troops did not succeed in overtaking the raiders.

Again on February 6, the regiment made another forced march and it arrived at Hatcher's Run, after (Major) General (John B.) Gordon had been repulsed at that place, in time to check the pursuing enemy. In the fight here Captain (Robert W.) Sanders of Co. A., was wounded and two men killed. During the remainder of this month the regiment was most of the time under random artillery fire. Rations were short and the weather often very bad; but nothing of special importance to the regiment occurred until March 4, from which time on I shall be able later to present to my readers a graphic description of the last days of the regiment, from the pen of Captain Fagan. But consider here

Conditions At Petersburg in Spring of 1865

The situation of our army at Petersburg in the months of January, February and March, 1865, was truly forlorn. For months and months, now nearing a year, Lee's forces had held Grant's army at bay, but attrition was doing its work. Grant's losses had been appalling, but he was from time to time receiving recruits. Our losses had been heavy, and we had no means of making them good. Horses were dying from starva-

tion and men suffering from want of clothing and shelter and food. Grant might undermine and explode, we had no powder to spare for countermining. Grant was continually extending his lines to our right and sending out his cavalry, now armed with magazine Spencer rifles, to raid our communications, when we were without infantry or artillery with which to extend our lines except by weakening them elsewhere, and had not cavalry sufficient either in number or equipment to meet the enemy's. And if this was the condition where we were defending the Capital of the Confederacy, how was it elsewhere? (General Edmund) Kirby Smith was somewhere in the west with an army, but he was in no condition to help or be helped. The Mississippi rolled between, and was patrolled by ironclads. Atlanta had fallen, Hood's army had been almost destroyed at Franklin and Nashville. Sherman had made waste in Georgia and destroyed its principal railroads. Charleston had been evacuated, and in Captain Fagan's diary entries were being made like this: "December 25, 1864. Savannah and Fort Fisher have fallen." "February 14, 1865, Sherman reported to have cut the railroad below Branchville."

Long before, Captain Fagan had recorded, "July 10, 1864. The Alabama sunk miles off Cherbourg by the Kearsage." The wonderful exploits of the Alabama and her sister ships in destroying the enemy's commerce had for a time greatly annoyed the enemy, but that was all; and now even the Alabama was at the bottom of the sea.

It was, after all, the United States navy with which the newly born government in the South lacking naval resources, had never been able to cope. Like the serpent of classic fable that strangled Laocoon, after it had first wound itself about and pinioned fast his arms and legs, so the United States navy had, by penetrating our rivers, deprived our armies of the power to help each other and by winding its deadly folds around our sea coast was fast strangling the life out of the Confederacy. Until Sherman started from Chattanooga no signal success had anywhere been achieved by any Federal army, east of the Mississippi, that had not been directly aided by the navy. It was the gun boats that enabled Grant to capture Fort Donelson and Nashville, and made successful the

expedition to Huntsville, Ala., in 1862. It was the navy that captured Memphis, Island No. 10, New Orleans, Fort Fisher and Mobile, compassed the downfall of Vicksburg, cut off Confederate communications across the Mississippi, and burned our depots of supplies along nearly all the navigable streams in the Confederacy. It was the gun boats on the James River that saved McClellan's army when he had been disastrously driven from his trenches on the Chickahominy; and Grant now had these gun boats at his back. More than all this, the navy by the blockade had destroyed for the Confederacy all opportunity of procuring with its cotton efficient supplies of railroad material and munitions of war from abroad. Our railroads and their rolling stock were wearing out. It was and had been impossible without better railroads, to concentrate rapidly our troops, and even to supply with decent food and clothing our armies where they were. Grant had been repulsed all along the lines from the Wilderness, and had only at last been content to cease swinging around a circle when he reached Petersburg where he had the navy in the James river to support him. Here he sat down, and after a few repulses, entrenched and entrenched, extending his lines further and further to his left. And think of that terrible crater! 278 men had without a moment's warning been blown into eternity, and every Confederate who after that manned our trenches knew that Grant had powder without stint, and that another mine might explode at any moment at any part of our line, and still our men did not falter. Attrition, shot and shell and famine, all combined, were doing their work. Our cavalry was melting away, and when Sheridan's troopers were raiding our lines of communication, it was Anderson's—now Mahone's—division of infantry, in which was the 8th Alabama, that was often sent out tramping, footsore, along frozen roads, in a vain effort to overtake the raiders.

This is but a faint picture of the conditions as our soldiers saw them when our army, its line at last broken, began its retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox. If there was any hope left in the hearts of Lee's veterans, who can fail now to see that it was only such hope as was born of unconquerable courage and unfaltering faith in their leaders? That there were many who fell out of the ranks is that dreadful march,

some because of physical exhaustion and others because they had lost heart, is undeniable. The marvel is that so many still had the physical ability to march, and still remain faithful, tramping along without sleep and without food, and fighting to the last; the pity is that all did not have the courage and the constancy of those heroes who stood by the flag of the old regiment until General Lee had surrendered, and then cried like children as they tore that flag into tatters. There were at the surrender 153 men and sixteen officers, making altogether 169 men of the 8th Alabama, who were paroled. These figures are official, from the captured archives, and they show that the 8th Alabama was one of the largest Confederate regiments at Appomattox.

CHAPTER XVII

The Last Few Days

The following account of the last few days is by Captain Fagan, and I know of nothing more touching:

From the diary of W. L. Fagan, former Captain of Co. K, written from day to day and extended in 1867, with notes added in 1905.

On the night of March 4, 1865, Mahone's division moved from their winter quarters on the Boydton plank road, and relieved Pickett's division on the line extending from Appomattox river to Howlett's home battery, on the James river. This battery was of heavy guns, built in a bluff near the home of Dr. Howlett, opposite Farrow's Island, and within range of Butler's Dutch Gan Canal. Wilcox's Brigade on the left, rested on this battery. There was no firing along the line and the half starved men enjoyed the rest and quiet. Daily details were made to search the field of anti-scorbutics, which, when found, were wild onions, the most indigestible food ever eaten by man. Our rations are $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of canned beef and a loaf of bread.

April 1st. — Last night the enemy gave us the grandest artillery display of the war. For several hours it seemed that every battery from Hare's house to the Jerusalem Plank Road was in action. The sky outlined the path of the thousands of hissing mortar shells thrown into the city. From my post I watched the terrific cannonade.

On the night of April 1st, Grant celebrated the victory of Five Forks. Every piece of artillery in the thickly studded forts, batteries and mortar beds joined in the prodigious clamor — it appeared as if fiends of the air were engaged in the sulphurous conflict (Pollard's Lost Cause).

Sunday, April 2nd, 1865. — Everything quiet in camp this morning. Sumpter Williamson of Co. A, invited

me to dine with him, as he had captured some fine "rats" in a barn several miles to the rear. I felt grateful for his invitation, but I can't eat a rat. There are rumors that Grant has possession of the South Side Railroad and also our old winter quarters and that General A. P. Hill was killed. The camp is full of "grape vine" despatches, while men and officers collect in groups to hear the news.

At sunset, orders received to move immediately — as we have no baggage the regiment soon formed. We are glad to go, since the entire regiment has the "itch" which Pickett's division left as an inheritance. At dark marched towards the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad. Adjutant Morgan Cleveland on the march whispered to me to watch my men, lest some desert. I replied with some irritation that I had no deserters in my company. Before reaching the railroad Cleveland told me that a number of our people had deserted. I was sorry for my reply to him at the trenches, and asked for forgiveness. Marched several miles along the railroad in the direction of Richmond. The railroad filled with heavy creaking trains headed for Richmond. The sky above reflected the light of burning buildings and commissary stores, while at intervals the earth is shaken by the exploding gun boats and magazines on the James river. The men march in silence, not a word spoken — they, like myself, are awed by the complete and absolute silence that surrounds us. I am told we are going to Burkeville, Va. We marched all night and took a road that leads to Chesterfield, C. H.

April 3rd, Monday. — On the march. This morning about 8 a.m., passed the wagon train. Scores of ambulances were filled with women and children and negro girls. The men are spiteful at seeing this innovation, and make caustic comments. "That's the crowd that draws our rations." They are government ambulances, and might be used to help along some tired or sick soldier. Stubbs was a son of Commonwealth Attorney Stubbs of Norfolk, Va., who had been im-

prisoned by General (Benjamin Franklin) Butler. His office and house searched by Federal soldiers, and his wife and daughter insulted. Mrs. Wright, after the execution of her husband, was sent to Richmond, and Miss Stubbs came with her, and was in Petersburg at the evacuation. Captain Parker, of the 11th Alabama, was a near relative. Bill Stubbs, of Norfolk, Va., standing on a fence waved his hand and said: "Captain, I promised sister last night that I would stand by my colors. Most of the boys stayed in Petersburg." Noble girl, with all your persecutions you are loyal still! Lieutenant V. 41st Va., caught up and contradicted Stubbs' statement of the wholesale desertions of the Virginians.

These men think the evacuation of Richmond insured the downfall of the Confederacy. Some Alabama and Georgia men having married in Petersburg, remained.

The three cotton factories at Petersburg employed hundreds of girls, as they run day and night. The soldiers married these factory girls, some for life, others for "during the war." Dr. J. D. D. Renfro, the Chaplain of the 10th, informed me that he married some couples of this class every night while the army was before Petersburg.

Marched all day and camped at dark two (2) miles from Chesterfield, C. H. about 20 miles from Petersburg. My negro boy is straggling with my haversack. A piece of bread from a comrade, and some cool water, I slept as only a tired man could sleep, after being awake 60 hours.

Tuesday, April 4th — Camp near Chesterfield, C. H. Left camp 4 a.m., marched by Budd's store, and went into camp at Goode's Bridge, on the Appomattox river. The men are without rations — they are promised rations tomorrow at Amelia, C. H. Grant's army has not molested us, and I suppose we are leaving him behind. The men are cheerful and make no complaints, for we believe General Lee knows what he is doing.

Wednesday, April 5, 1865 — Amelia, C. H. About 3 a.m., this morning the familiar cry — “Fall in, men” — “Fall in” — was given, and the regiment moved rapidly toward Amelia, C. H. — arrived about 9 a.m. Passed Gordon’s corps in camp near the town. Halted in the streets of C. House for some time. The entire army appears to be concentrated here, moving gently toward Farmville.

I sat on the curb of the sidewalk to rest. General Lee is near me in his carriage, which is filled with baggage. Gordon is in earnest conversation with him which continues nearly an hour. General Longstreet is nearby. Seated on his horse he has a tired look. He strokes his arm with his hand, the other resting on the pommel of his saddle. His horse with his nose nearly to the ground is asleep. He is greatly changed since 1862, when Major Fairfax by his orders, at Gaines’ Mill, sent me after the Pennsylvania Buck Tails. General Mahone has a quiet, subdued look. I have not heard him “yell” at anybody since we started. There are no commissary trains here, only artillery and ordnance wagons. No rations issued.

NOTE: Several days before General Lee had despatched most urgent orders that commissary stores be sent from Danville to Amelia, C. H. The authorities in Richmond bungled the command. General Lee found there not a single ration for his army. It was a terrible revelation (Pollard’s “Lost Cause.”)

(Major General Charles W.) Fields’, Mahone’s and Pickett’s division, at 12 m. moved down the railroad toward Farmville. When several miles from the town the Yankee Cavalry attacked Wilcox’s Brigade but were repulsed. Marched all the evening and at dark we are still moving.

April 6, Thursday. On the march. Having marched all night, this morning at 8 a.m. we are at a point seventeen miles from Burkeville, and eighteen miles from Farmville. General Lee passed to the front fol-

lowed by large escort of cavalry. The weather very warm, no rest — the halts are only for a moment for the artillery to pull the hills.

I suffered this morning, with intense nausea, followed by giddiness and ringing in my ears. The sensations are peculiar and distressing. I walk along supported by one of my comrades, without any apparent volition. My men drag themselves along the road, making no complaints — they do not straggle. The country is apparently poor and thinly settled and there is nothing to be gained by foraging. After marching nearly seventeen miles today, at 4 p.m., two and a half miles from High Bridge, we formed line of battle along the Lynchburg Railroad. Before we could perfect our line, we were hurried toward Sarlow Creek. Gordon's corps had been routed and Sheridan had captured about 400 wagons of our army, which were parked waiting to cross the bridge. General Mahone's baggage was captured. I am told he had a large sum of Confederate money, also money of several Richmond banks. The Federal signal lights are seen in front and over each flank. They are powerful lights of different colors, as reflected on the sky. We lay in line of battle until 3 a.m.

We found a hogshead of tobacco, and we could smoke, although we had nothing to eat. The night was intensely dark, with the wind blowing a stiff breeze. About four in the morning crossed High Bridge. This bridge is over 100 feet high and one-half mile long, and I felt uneasy groping my way along its tin-covered floor in the darkness. We rested near the bridge — two companies of the 9th Alabama regiment were posted on it with orders to burn it at day light.

April 7th. Farmville, Va. We secured a short rest, but no sleep. Before sunrise the Yankees were moving and crowding along the burning bridge as the 9th Alabama had fired two spans. Along the crest of the hill, and country roads thousands of soldiers in blue

were moving forward. The 8th Alabama was now the rear of the Army, moving backwards towards the Heights of Farmville. Our skirmish line was captured to a man, within a few hundred yards of our retreating columns. We halted near Cumberland Church, and threw forward another line of skirmishers, commanded by Captain (G. T. L.) Robinson of Co. B. The enemy changed their line of pursuit, and moved towards our right wing. We built a breastwork of fence rails, using tin plates and bayonets to remove the dirt. A continued fire was exchanged on the picket line, and E. W. McDaniel of my company was killed, and James Oakes wounded. About 2 p.m. the enemy made vigorous assault to our right. From my position I could see General Mahone, in the hottest of the fight leading his men forward. The enemy was driven back, and the balance of the day was quiet.

NOTE: "He, (Brigadier General Andrew A.) Humphreys, was up with the light of day, 7 April, and it was the combined 2nd and 3rd corps that saved High Bridge, and continued to fight and drive Lee all day long. — At Cumberland Church on the afternoon of the 7th, occurred the last stand up fight and pitched battle between the army of Northern Virginia, under Lee, and the army of the Potomac. Humphreys struck at Lee at 1:30 p.m., and asked for reinforcements." (Magazine of American History, October, 1886.)

We held our position until midnight. Details were sent after rations. The tired exhausted men returned at midnight and reported that they had been destroying wagon trains and cutting the spokes from the wheels of artillery. They did not find a crust of bread or a grain of corn. I am told the army is demoralized, deserting and straggling. It is 56 hours since I have had food or sleep. I suffer from giddiness and weakness — my men lay about in a stupor — they do not complain, they obey orders, as if asleep. A soldier tells me that he saw a Captain of artillery spike his guns, and disband his company, telling them to take the battery horses and go home.

April 8. Saturday. Made a long march of twenty miles, passing through New Store, and camped at dark. The famished, tired men lay down in the woods in silence. Not a word is spoken, and the men are soon asleep. Colonel Emrich, Captain Mordecai, Adjutant Cleveland and myself gathered around a little fire and smoked our pipes. Captain Spencer of Longstreets' staff, joins our group, and tells us that the enemy are across our front, and that Gordon will attack at daylight, and that we will assist Gordon. About a bushel of rations were given the regiment during the night. This morning at daylight a cavalryman waked me. I was across a pile of bush near the road. I must have been asleep where I fell. Today's march was dreadful — the men slept as they walked, and when a temporary halt was made they fell down. Nobody laughs, and nobody comments. Officers ask no questions about their companies — each man seems absorbed in his individual suffering.

April 9th, Sunday. Left camp at twelve last night and marched five miles. We are resting by the roadside while the wagon trains are moving forward. I am told the enemy is in our front, across our road to Lynchburg. And, that Gordon is driving them back. We are about a mile from the C. House. Near me is an upgrade in the road. A battery of artillery stalled, although the gunners helped at the wheels. In reply to my question a driver said: "The horses have had no rest, no water and nothing to eat since we left Amelia C. House."

A soldier of the regiment has just come in and reports that General Lee has surrendered the army. The men are indignant, and threaten the soldiers with a beating. He is told with much profanity that, a skulker, wagon-dog and hospital rat were news carriers. Dr. Robert Royston, an old friend, and Brigade Surgeon, rode to where I was lying down. His face, always so bright and pleasant, was a study — the tears were in his eyes, and choking with emotion, he said: 'General Lee has surrendered the army.' I cannot express my feel-

ings — the tears came to my eyes — the only tears during the entire war. The men crowded around Dr. Royston, eagerly asking questions, and then they would go away with tears falling down their dirty, bronzed faces. A pathetic sight — these starved men, who staggered when they walked, from exhaustion, truly they loved their land with a love far brought.

The Color Sergeant holding the flag in his hand, cried out, 'You have never run in a battle, and you don't surrender.' He tore the flag from the staff and divided it among the men. A piece about ten inches square came to me. I have it still, and would like to know who have the other pieces.

NOTE: "The flag's streamers, a red and white ribbon with tassels, fell to John A. Browne of Co. D, who married and settled in Suffolk Co., Virginia. The streamers with the names of the battles fought had been given to me by Miss Nina Cave near Orange C. H., Va., in April, 1864. When Browne, 32 years afterwards (in 1896), visited me, bringing along to exhibit his much prized trophies and learned from me their origin he asked me to decide whether they were mine or his. The decision was in his favor. With tears in his eyes and much hesitation he accepted it, declaring that at his death they should come to me or my family. His widow has since sent them and, pinned with the Cross of Honor given me by the U. D. C. with their story underneath, the frame that holds them now hangs in my parlor.

W. A. Herbert"

I sent Sergeants George Smith and Renas Richardson to learn the truth of the matter, for I still doubted it. When they returned they confirmed the report. Smith had a billet of wood, split from an apple tree. He stated that he saw a crowd of soldiers and newspaper correspondents, digging up an apple tree, under which the surrender had been arranged. Smith divided his billet with the Company. I still have my piece.

In the afternoon, the Federals were driving a bunch of beef cattle along the road near the Regiment. The men killed two (2) beeves. I explained to the officers in charge that the men were very hungry, for I was afraid he would resent our conduct. He answered that it was all right — that he always knew how hungry we were. After the entails were taken out, the beef was quartered, and divided, and before the hide could be removed, the men were cutting slices of warm raw beef which was greedily eaten. We had no salt — no fire — no bread — all too hungry to wait for these things.

April 10 — It is raining this morning. The surrender is formally announced to the army, the regiment marched to the field, and stacked their arms. I did not go, as that raw beef got in its perfect work, and I was too unwell to walk.

General Mahone ordered his division to be formed in a square and made then a short speech. He said, in part, that he wanted us to accept the surrender in good faith — to go home and make as good citizens as we had soldiers.

When my company was formed for the last time, I was deeply moved. The original muster roll called for 159 men and they were as good and true as ever wore the grey. Not one had ever been charged with failure to do his duty — not a man had ever been arrested. Along the battlefields of Virginia, were sleeping forty one. Twenty-seven had died of diseases, 101 wounds. Every officer had received wounds, and every private except one.

With the surrender at Appomattox, ended the career of the 8th Alabama volunteers. But its trials were not over, even when it had listened to the immortal words of Lee's farewell address to his army. It was still without food; 28,000 men and officers had surrendered with General Lee. General Grant generously issued 25,000 rations to General Lee (of which General Horace Porter gives an account in the *November Century*, 1887). General Lee thought this would be sufficient, but he

did not know that two trains of rations sent to his army from Lynchburg, Va., had been captured by Sheridan the day before the surrender. So it was that 3,000 of these men failed to share in the food given by the victors. The 8th Alabama was among these, and its officers and soldiers spent their last day at Appomattox eating parched corn.

APPENDIX A

Consolidated Role of 8th Alabama Regiment. Exclusive of Field and Staff
Recapitulation of strength, casualties, etc., of the 8th Regiment of Alabama Volunteers,
from the 1st day of May, 1861, to the 31st day of December, 1864.

RECAPITULATION

	Captains	1st. Lieut.	2nd Lieut.	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	Total Commissioned	Total Enlisted men	Aggregate	Volunteers	Conscripts	Substitutes
Whole Strength*	55	20	23	10	84	1293	1377	1179	165	21
Deduct from "Whole Strength for duplicate enumeration of same in other Alabama commands						12	12	10	2	—
Actual Force From Alabama	31	20	25	10	84	1281	1365	1179	165	21
Permanent Casualties:										
Killed:										
By the enemy	6	2	6	2	16	199	215	203	11	1
Otherwise	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	—	—
Died:										
Of disease	1	—	—	—	1	155	155	134	15	7
Of wounds	1	3	3	—	7	65	72	65	6	1
Resigned:										
For wounds	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—
For disability	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—
For other causes	5	5	5	3	18	—	18	18	—	—
Retired										
For wounds	4	1	—	1	6	15	21	20	—	1

Discharged:

For wounds	—	—	—	40	40	39	1	—
For disability	—	—	—	93	93	89	3	1
By sentence of court-martial	1	—	—	2	3	3	—	—
By order of Secretary of War	—	—	1	11	12	12	—	—
By substitution	—	—	—	7	7	7	—	—
Deserted	—	1	—	140	141	135	3	3
Transferred:								
To same regiment	—	—	—	13	13	12	1	—
To other Alabama Commands	—	—	—	16	16	13	3	—
By promotion to other Alabama Commands	5	1	6	9	15	15	—	—
To troops of other States	—	—	—	11	11	11	—	—
To Navy	—	—	—	26	26	26	—	—
Loss as above (deduct from "Whole Strength")	23	12	16	8	59	804	863	806
Remainder on Rolls	8	8	7	2	25	489	514	383
							124	7

Of "Remainder" there are: —

Absent:

Missing	—	—	—	13	13	13	—	—
Captured	1	4	4	9	82	91	16	1
Without leave	—	—	—	—	4	4	1	—
For wounds	3	2	—	5	63	62	5	1
Detailed	—	—	—	—	52	52	3	1
Total absent	4	6	4	14	214	228	25	3
Killed and Died	8	5	9	2	421	445	32	9
Wounded, including killed	23	14	13	4	636	690	45	7
Captured	2	4	5	11	227	238	25	1
Escaped	1	—	1	2	99	101	8	—
Took oath to United States	—	—	—	—	22	22	—	—
Died prisoners of war	4	6	4	14	214	228	35	3

* Including every commissioned officer and enlisted man who has been attached to the command from its organization to present date. The number of persons who filled the various commissioned offices is given in the highest grade last filled by each; hence the number of times some subordinate offices may have been filled is not shown.

APPENDIX B

Recapitulation of Strength, Casualties, Etc., of Company "F" of the 8th Regiment of Alabama Volunteers, from the 20th day of May, 1861, to the 31st day of December, 1864

RECAPITULATION

	Captains	1st. Lieut.	2nd Lieut.	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	Total Commissioned	Total Enlisted men	Aggregate	Volunteers	Conscripts	Substitutes
Whole Strength*	3	1	5	—	9	110	119	86	27	6
Deduct from "Whole Strength for duplicate enumeration of same in other Alabama commands	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	3	1	—
Actual Force From Alabama	3	1	5	—	9	106	115	83	26	6
Permanent Casualties:										
Killed:										
By the enemy	—	—	2	—	2	12	14	12	1	1
Otherwise	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Died:										
Of wounds	1	—	1	—	2	2	4	4	—	—
Of disease	—	—	—	—	—	22	22	18	2	2
Resigned:										
For wounds	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
For disability	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
For other causes	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	—

Retired

For wounds	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
For disability	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Discharged:										
For wounds	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	—
For disability	—	—	—	—	—	10	10	—	10	—
By expiration of service	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
By sentence of court-martial	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
By order of Secretary of War	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—
By substitution	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Executed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*Deserted	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	—	7	—

Transferred:

To same regiment	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	1	—
To other Alabama Commands	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	—
By promotion to other Alabama Commands	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
To troops of other States	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	—
Loss as above (deduct from "Whole Strength")	3	—	4	—	7	63	70	61	6	3
Remainder on Rolls	—	1	1	—	2	47	49	25	21	3

Of "Remainder" there are: —

Absent:

Missing	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	2
Captured	—	1	—	—	1	6	7	3	4	—
In arrest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Without leave	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
For wounds	—	—	—	—	—	8	8	6	1	1
Detailed	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	1	1	—
Total absent	—	1	—	—	.1	20	21	11	7	5

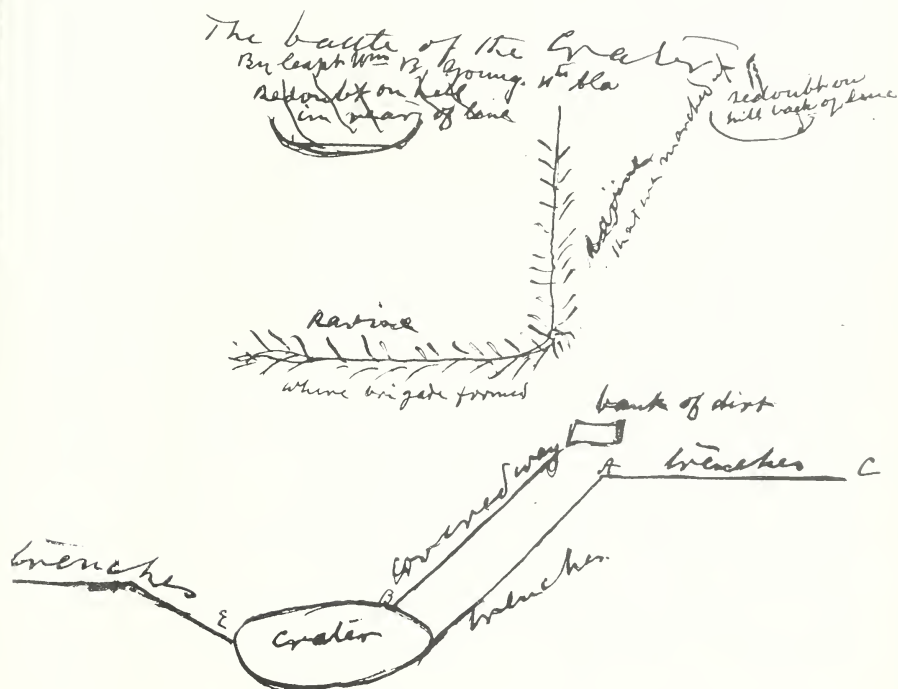
RECAPITULATION

	Captains	1st. Lieut.	2nd Lieut.	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	Total Commissioned	Total Enlisted men	Aggregate	Volunteers	Conscripts	Substitutes
Killed and Died	1	—	3	—	4	36	40	34	3	3
Wounded, including killed and died	3	1	3	—	7	41	48	38	8	2
Promoted for gallantry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Captured	—	1	—	—	1	20	21	14	7	—
Escaped	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchanged	—	—	—	—	—	11	11	8	3	—
Took oath to United States	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
Died prisoners of war	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	—	—

* Including every commissioned officer and enlisted man who has been attached to the command from its organization to present date. The number of persons who filled the various commissioned offices is given in the highest grade last filled by each; hence the number of times some subordinate offices may have been filled is not shown.

APPENDIX C

Captain Wm. B. Young's Account of the Battle of the Crater,
7-30-64



The above is a rude sketch of the ground as I remember it. The redoubt on the hill in rear was occupied by a confederate battery of field pieces when Wilcox's brigade reached the ground. The "bank of dirt" in the sketch was a high bank to protect the troops in going to and from the ravine to the covered way. About 11 a. m., July 30th, 1864, Wilcox's Ala. brigade commanded by General J. C. C. Saunders (Sanders) was quietly withdrawn from the trenches leaving 125 men in the picket pits in front and an equal number in the vacated trenches, to keep up the appearance of their occupation. The brigade marched up the ravine to the point where it turned to our right and followed it until the brigade was opposite the crater and the trenches then occupied by the enemy. It was then halted, fronted and ordered to lie down. Mahone's Virginia brigade we found occupying the trenches along the line marked A. C. which they had recaptured. The enemy were then in possession of the Crater and a portion of the trenches on each side.

As soon as the brigade had lain down as directed Genl. Mahone said to Genl. Saunders, "come with me and I will show you what you have to do." They then proceeded to the high bank of dirt marked on the sketch and climbed up so as to see over the top of it and get a view of the ground that the brigade was to advance over, and the position it was to assault. As I was then acting as aide to Genl. Saunders, I accompanied him. Genl. Mahone then said to Genl. Saunders, "General your brigade *must* retake that ground, Wright's brigade assaulted it and were repulsed and have rallied in the trenches over to our right, when you advance they will be ordered to move down the trenches toward the crater and assist." "I wish you to call all your officers together and tell them to tell their men, that at one o'clock they will attack; that I wish them to go on a trail arms and without yelling till they pass the crest of the ridge in front, then give a yell and dash into the trenches and crater and not fire a shot till they get to the trenches occupied by the enemy, and tell them that there are no reserves, and that if they do not retake the works at the first charge they will have to keep charging till they do take them." Genl. Saunders did call all the officers together and told them what Genl. Mahone had said. The 9th Ala. was on the right of the brigade and the 11th Ala. on the left. Genl. Mahone's orders were carried out to the letter, and at one o'clock, by the watch, the brigade advanced at a trail arms and in common time till they passed the brow of the hill in their front, when they gave a yell and dashed for the works. Our advance drove all the enemy who were in the trenches to the left and right of the crater, into the crater, except some who jumped over the works and undertook to escape to their lines. The brigade closed round the crater on the Confederate side. The crater had a bank of earth around it like a big ant hill, and this bank of dirt separated our men from the enemy. Those who jumped over the works and ran for their lines were shot by the men in our trenches to the right and left of the crater. Some fine shots from Mahone's brigade climbed up on the high bank of earth above referred to and shot at all who attempted to escape, and few escaped. The men grabbed up the rifles dropped by the enemy and hurled them, bayonet foremost, into the crater and poked their rifles over and fired down into it. As fast as the enemy manned their side they were shot down. Genl. Saunders and myself came up to the crater near where the covered way touched it,

marked "B" on the sketch. Shortly after we reached the crater Genl. Saunders went to the right of the line and I remained at the point where we came to the crater. While I was standing there one of Mahone's couriers came up to me and asked for Genl. Saunders. I told him that the General had gone towards the right of the line. He said General Mahone wishes to know the exact condition of affairs here. I said "where is the General?" He replied he is behind the high bank at the end of the covered way. I then went back to where General Mahone was and explained to him the exact state of affairs. He said "why do the men not jump over on them and end the fight?" I replied "General they are so thick in there that if men jumped over they would jump into a bayonet and the men know it." He then to me "go back and tell Col. Tayloe I say to call for volunteers and go into the crater, it is of *vital* importance to have our lines reestablished at once." I knew that if I delivered this message to Col. Tayloe he would undertake to lead the way into the crater and it would mean almost certain death, so I determined on my way back, to try another method of getting possession of the crater. As soon as I got back I called out "Why don't you fools surrender?" "You will all be killed if you do not." One of their officers replied, "we will surrender if you will stop your men from firing." I stopped the men where I was standing and started around to the right — stopping the firing as I went. I had gone but a short distance when I found that the men behind me had commenced again. I went back to the point which was nearest our rear, and called to them that I could not stop the firing all along the line, but to drop their arms and come out by me and I would protect them. They promptly did this and rushed out by me to our rear. As they vacated the crater our men rushed in and the line was reestablished. I then went back and reported to Genl. Mahone that we were in possession of the entire line. As the prisoners rushed back over the open ground in our rear the enemy opened fire with cannister and killed several of the prisoners. General Saunders directed me, the next morning to have a detail made to bury the dead of the enemy and to count the bodies and report to him the number. The dead bodies in the crater were piled in the bottom and the crater was then filled up. There was about 300 dead in the crater. We had a detail of negro prisoners brought back and made them dig a long trench in rear of our line, gather all the dead enemy

fallen in the trenches and covered way and bury them. I counted bodies. The next day Grant asked for a truce to bury the dead lying between the lines. By the terms of the truce none of his men were to come over his trenches, except his working detail. We to establish a line of sentinels between the lines and deliver all bodis on our side of the line of sentries to his detail. By direction of Genl. Saunders I established the line of armed sentries and instructed them to allow no one to cross the line. We had a detail of negro prisoners brought down under guard, and made them gather the dead up and deliver them to the enemy detail. By this time the stench from the dead was very bad. The next day after dark the brigade went back to its former position. I counted over 800 dead bodies which were gathered up on the ground where we fought. We took about 700 prisoners, among them General Bartlett and his staff, they being the last prisoners to emerge from the crater. The brigade did not carry over 900 muskets into the action.

/s/ Wm. B. Young

APPENDIX "D"

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS OF EIGHTH ALABAMA
INFANTRY REGIMENT, C. S. A.

Field and Staff

Colonel John A. Winston: 6-11-61 to 6-16-62. In command of the Regiment at the Siege of Yorktown, 4-62, and the battles of Williamsburg and Seven Pines. Retired 6-16-62 due to chronic ill health.

Colonel Young L. Royston: Captain of Co. "A", the "Alabama Rangers", from 5-8-61 to 3-20-62. Major of the Regiment, 3-20-62 to 5-5-62. Lt. Col., 5-5-62 to 6-16-62. Colonel, 6-16-62 to 11-2-64. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-61. Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Also present at Siege of Yorktown, and battles of Seven Pines, Gaines' Mill, and Fredericksburg. Retired, 11-2-64, due to permanent physical disability caused by the wound received at battle of Salem Church.

Colonel Hilary A. Herbert: Captain of Co. "F", the "Greenville Guards", from 5-21-61 to 5-5-62. Major of the Regiment, 5-5-62 to 6-12-62. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Lt. Col., 6-12-62 to 11-2-64. Acting Colonel 5-3-63 to 5-6-64. Seriously wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent home and retired, 11-2-64, due to permanent physical disability caused by the wound received at battle of the Wilderness. Also at Siege of Yorktown, and battle of Williamsburg, 2nd Manassas, Sharpsburg, Salem Church, and Gettysburg. Paroled at Greenville, Ala., 5-65.

Lt. Col. John W. Frazer: 6-17-61 to 3-20-62. Graduate of the U. S. Military Academy. Resigned to accept Colonelcy of the 20th Alabama Infantry Regiment which he helped to organize.

Lt. Col. Thomas E. Irby: Major, 6-17-61 to 3-20-62. Lt. Col., 3-20-62 to 5-5-62. Killed at the battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Also present at the siege of Yorktown, 4-62.

Lt. Col. John P. Emrich: Captain of Co. "C", the "German Fusiliers, 5-25-61 to 6-16-62. Major of the Regiment, 6-16-62 to 11-2-64. Lt. Col., 11-2-64 to 4-9-65. Wounded at battle

of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Also present at Siege of Yorktown, and battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Salem Church, Gettysburg, Bristow Station, Petersburg Campaign. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Major Duke Nall: Captain, Co. "K", the "Southern Guards", 5-16-61 to 11-2-64. Promoted to Major, 11-2-64. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Seriously wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Also present at the Siege of Yorktown, and the battles of Gaines' Mill, Frazier's Farm, 2nd Manassas, Fredericksburg, Salem Church, and Bristow Station. Died 11-4-64, from complications caused by wound received at the battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.

Adjutant Thomas Phelan: 9-28-61 to 4-15-62. Promoted to Captain of Co. "A", 4-15-62 to 6-27-62. Killed at the battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Also present at the siege of Yorktown, and the battles of Williamsburg and Seven Pines.

Adjutant Daniel Jones: 5-1-62 to 5-14-63. Appointed Assistant Quartermaster, 9th Alabama Infantry, 5-14-63. Wounded at the battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Also present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Seven Pines, Chancellorship, and Gettysburg.

Adjutant Morgan S. Cleveland: Private, Co. "D", 5-10-61 to 7-61. Quartermaster Sergeant, 7-61 to 6-28-63. Appointed Adjutant of the Regiment, 6-28-63. Wounded at battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-20-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Assistant Quartermaster Julius A. Robbins: 6-12-61 to 9-30-63. Resigned.

Assistant Quartermaster R. P. McCormick: 6-1-62 to 10-25-62. Dropped.

Assistant Quartermaster H. J. Raphael: 11-10-63 to 2-1-64. Resigned.

Assistant Quartermaster William H. Dunn: 1st Corporal, Co. "H", 5-30-61 to 5-1-62. Ordnance Sergeant, 5-1-62 to 10-24-62. 2nd Lt., 10-24-62 to 2-17-64. Appointed Assistant Quartermaster (Captain) of Regiment, 2-17-64 to 6-14-64. Appointment expired.

Assistant Commissary of Subsistence G. W. Privett: 3-28-62 to 9-17-63. Resigned.

Assistant Commissary of Subsistence George H. Shorter: 6-12-61 to 3-25-62. Resigned.

- Surgeon Robert T. Royston: Private Co. "A", 5-8-61 to 6-17-61. Appointed Assistant Surgeon of the Regiment, 6-17-61. Appointed Surgeon 9-28-61. Present in every battle in which the command was engaged from the siege of Yorktown through the battle of Burgess' Mill, 11-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Assistant Surgeon Daniel Parker: 1st Corporal and Sergeant of Co. "A", 5-8-61 to 7-3-61. Appointed Assistant Surgeon, 7-3-61. Assigned to the 10th Alabama Infantry, 5-5-64. Present in every battle in which the command was engaged from the siege of Yorktown through the battle of Burgess' Mill, 11-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Assistant Surgeon Charles W. Truehart: From 4-23-64. Transferred to an Engineer's Corps, 12-64. Present from the battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64 through the battle of Burgess' Mill, 11-64.
- Chaplain William E. Massey: 10-15-63 to 4-9-65. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Ensign L. P. Ragsdale: Private, Co. "F", 5-21-61. Sergeant, 1863. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Appointed Ensign 4-8-64 to 10-31-64. No other record.
- Sergeant Major William M. Byrd, Jr.: From 5-10-61. Present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Gaines' Mill, Frazier's Farm, and 2nd Manassas. Promoted and transferred as Assistant Commissary for Subsistence, 11-62.
- Sergeant Major J. P. Harris: From 5-10-61. Wounded at battle of Petersburg Crater, 7-64. Present throughout war.
- Quartermaster Sergeant John H. Aunspaugh: Private, Co. "D". Promoted from the ranks, 8-63. Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hospital Sergeant John Brown: Present at battles of Fredericksburg, Salem Church, Gettysburg, and Bristow Station. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Ordnance Sergeant David Buell: Quartermaster Co. "F" from 5-1-61. Promoted to Ordnance Sergeant of Regiment, 11-8-62. Present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, 2nd Manassas, Fredericksburg, Salem Church, and Gettysburg. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

APPENDIX E

Company "A", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised on May 8, 1861, at Marion, Perry County, Alabama, as the "**Alabama Rangers**", and was mustered into C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

Captain Young L. Royston: 5-8-61 to 3-10-62. Promoted to Major of the Regiment 3-20-62. Promoted to Lt. Col., 5-5-62. Promoted to Colonel 6-16-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Seriously wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Also present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Seven Pines, Gaines' Mill, and Fredericksburg. Finally retired, 11-2-64, due to physical disability due to wound received at battle of Salem Church.

Captain Robert W. Sanders: 1st Sergeant 5-23-61. Promoted to 2nd Lt., 4-23-62. 1st Lt., 7-13-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Wounded at battle of Petersburg, 6-22-64. Promoted to Captain 12-15-64. Hospitalized in Richmond, Va., when war ended.

Captain Thomas R. Heard, Jr.: 2nd Lt., 5-8-61. Captain 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Retired, 12-14-64, due to wound received at battle of the Wilderness.

Captain Thomas Phelan: 1st Sergeant 5-8-61. Promoted to Regimental Adjutant 9-28-61. Promoted to Captain of Company "A", 4-15-62. Killed in action at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Also present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Williamsburg and Seven pines.

1st Lt., John C. Reid: 5-8-61 to 3-20-62. Promoted to Lt. Col., of 28th Alabama Infantry Regiment, 3-20-62.

1st Lt. John D. McLaughlin: 2nd Lt., 5-8-61. Promoted to 1st Lt., 3-20-62. Died from wounds received at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

1st Lt., C. E. Seawell: Transferred from the 4th Alabama Infantry and made the Sergeant Major of the 8th Alabama Regiment, 10-62. 2nd Lt., 11-25-62. 1st Lt., 12-15-64. Paroled at Marion, Alabama, 5-15-65.

2nd Lt., Martin V. Massey: Private 5-21-62. Corporal 8-14-61. Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Elected 2nd Lt., 3-25-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. N., 4-9-65.

Chaplain William E. Massey: Private 2-16-63. Appointed Chaplain of the Regiment, 11-16-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Asst. Surgeon Daniel Parker: 1st Corporal and Sergeant of Company "A", 5-8-61 to 7-3-61. Appointed Asst. Surgeon of the Regiment, 7-3-61. Assigned to the 10th Alabama Infantry Regiment, 5-5-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

2nd Lt., David B. Cady: 9-10-62 to 2-27-63. Cashiered 3-4-63. Deserted to the enemy. Sent to Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D.C. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 3-25-63.

Surgeon Robert T. Royston: Private Company "A", 5-8-61. Appointed Asst. Surgeon of the Regiment, 6-17-61. Appointed Surgeon 9-28-61. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Enlisted Ranks

Adier, Joseph M.: His name appears on a register of deceased soldiers from Alabama which was filed for final settlement with family, 12-1-63.

Ashley, William N. 6-25-64—Russell Co., Ala.: Conscript. paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Anbrey, James, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala.: Died, 7-2-62, of wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

Baber, J.M.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-20-65.

Bamburg, Lysander P. 5-8-61—Marion, Ala.: Accidentally shot in hand. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-61.

Barefield, Edmund 8-25-62—Clifton, Ala., Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Hammond General Hospital, Point Lookout, Md., 10-63. Exchanged and hospitalized at Chimborazo Hospital No. 5, Richmond, Va., 3-64.

Barefield, John 8-25-62—Clifton, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Chose not to be exchanged.

Barrett, David W., 9-27-61—Died of wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

Barrett, James, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Reported a deserter.

- Blair, James H., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged from Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 8-5-62. Hospitalized and supposed to have died at South Carolina Hospital, Petersburg, Va.
- Blakely, J. T.: Corporal. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Gainesville, Ala., 5-14-65.
- Boggs, Benjamin F. 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 6-1-61.
- Bolling, Allen 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Exchanged, 1-63. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor for gallantry. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Joined U. S. 3rd Maryland Cavalry.
- Bowline, W. R. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-30-65.
- Boykin, M. B. 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Present through 1864.
- Bradburg, George W. 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Culpepper C. H., 11-11-62.
- Bradley, James W. 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to U. S. A. Smallpox Hospital, Point Lookout, Md., 6-30-64. Paroled, 10-64.
- Brown, David, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Hanover Junction, 5-24-64.
- Brown, Oliver C. 5-21-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 11-11-61.
- Brown, Thomas, 5-21-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 10-15-61.
- Brown, William, 5-8-61—Marion Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 12-15-61.
- Browning, B. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Gainesville, Ala., 5-14-65.
- Burroughs, Bryan, 11-19-64—Marion, Ala. Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Burt, J. F., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 10-64. Died of illness, 11-30-64.
- Bushard, James Duke, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharged due to his wounds, 9-22-62.

- Caddell, William J., 4-8-61—Marion, Ala. 5th Sergeant, 8-1-62. 4th Sergeant, 4-1-63. 2nd Sergeant, 2-1-64. Killed at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64.
- Cady, George N., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of South Mountain during 1st Maryland Campaign, 9-15-62. Exchanged, 1-63. Deserted to the enemy, 3-27-63.
- Caesar, William, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Musician. Discharged due to physical disability, 10-62.
- Candle, John A., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. May have been exchanged.
- Cariker, Henry, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala. Substitute for a conscript. Died of illness in Richmond, Va., hospital, 8-2-63.
- Carleton, Reuben J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Sergeant 7-12. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died, 6-12-64, from wounds received 5-12-64 at battle of Spotsylvania C. H.
- Cassidy, John, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to physical disability caused by his wounds, 11-15-62.
- Cavanaugh, William. Deserted his Company. However remained in Confederate service by joining C. S. Navy.
- Clark, Edmond, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at a battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Sergeant 4-1-63. Detailed as Machinist at Richmond, Va., 9-2-64.
- Clark, William. His name appears on a roll of paroled Confederate soldiers, 6-65.
- Coche, John W. Captured 7-3-62. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Cochran, J. W., 5-8-61—Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Took oath of allegiance to U. S. A. at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 5-65.
- Cochran, Samuel, 9-2-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Colburn, John W., 5-8-61 — Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Lynchburg, Va., 7-62.
- Coley, Robert F., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Corporal. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Lynchburg, Va., 4-13-65.
- Cook, John J., 5-21-61—Marion, Ala. Wagonmaster. Transferred to Co. K., 11th Alabama Regiment, 4-13-65.

- Cook, William C., 5-21-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness near Yorktown, Va., 12-61.
- Daly, John, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Froze to death near Fredericksburg, Va., 2-22-63.
- Dargan, James, 5-8-61—Marion. 2nd Corporal. 4th Sergeant 8-14-61. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Davis, James H., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 2nd Sergeant, 6-5-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged 3-1-64.
- Deal, Lewis O. Conscript. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- DeBarleeder, A. H. His name appears on a roll of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Donavan, Thomas J., 6-4-61—Gloucester Point, Va. Died of typhoid fever at Richmond, Va., 12-25-62.
- Donovan, Moses E., 6-4-61—Gloucester Point, Va. 4th Sergeant, 6-5-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged, 3-64. 2nd Sergeant, 9-1-64.
- Donovan, Henry, 8-3-61—Yorktown, Va. Mortally wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died, 7-27-62.
- Doremas, T. J. His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as patient, 12-20-62.
- Draper, William, 8-11-62—McAndrew, Ala. Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Duke, Perry M., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Duke, William H., 5-8-61 Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Duncan, John, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Williamsburg, Va., 3-62.
- Fleming, J. Q., 3-21-62—Rockford, Ala. Conscript. Died in a Richmond hospital, 12-15-62.
- Fleming, R. H., 8-21-62—Rockford, Ala. Conscript. Died of pneumonia at the 2nd Alabama hospital, Richmond, 2-2-63.
- Fibry, S.H. His name appears on a register of Confederate soldiers who died of wounds or disease. n.d. n.p.
- Folter, Elliott. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 8-30-63. Transferred to a U. S. hospital, 1-15-64.
- Foster, R. M., 5-23-61—Decatur, Ala. Transferred from Company C. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Never returned from wounded furlough and reported a deserter.

- Fuller, John, 2-12-64—Demopolis, Ala. Wounded (not by enemy), 8-64, at Deep Bottom, Va. Deserted to the enemy.
- Gentry, Jasper M., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Gentry, John M., 8-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died at Point Lookout Prison, 1-16-64.
- Gentry, Manly. Detailed as Teamster for hospital.
- Gentry, Reason J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Gilleland, A. J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Died of pneumonia at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-15-62.
- Golden, G. W. Conscript. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-65.
- Gregory, S. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-25-65.
- Griffin, Richard C., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 3rd Sergeant. Died at Bigler's Wharf, York Co., Va., 11-16-61.
- Hamrick, James, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Exchanged, 7-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-18-65.
- Hanney, T. His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as admitted as a patient, 2-21-63.
- Harman, A. E., 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Harwood, C. F., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Retired, 12-21-62, due to wounds received at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Heming, R. H. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 12, Richmond, Va., as deceased.
- Hilston, J. His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., 2-20-63.
- Hokes, J. D. Corporal. His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-9-64.
- Holstead, John, 8-28-62—Clopton, Ala. Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 7-11-63.
- Howard, Claudius F., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. His name appears on the muster roll of the Company for 3 months in 1861.
- Hubbard, Andrew J. Corporal. Sergeant, 4-1-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-10-65.
- Huff, Ira H. Conscript. Discharged, 3-13-63.

- Hutchins, Michael, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Totopotomoy Creek, 6-8-64.
- Ivey, Hinton, C. G., 5-8-61 — Marion, Ala. Corporal, 8-1-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged 2-64.
- Ivey, William H. P., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Exchanged, 7-16-62. Died, 7-12-63, of wounds received at battle of Gettysburg.
- Jackson, Joseph, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 4th Sergeant. 1st Sergeant, 4-31-62. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Jackson, Love (Lowe), T., 8-10-62—Marble Valley, Ala. Conscript. Present throughout war.
- Jackson, William L., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Richmond, Va., 11-8-64.
- Jackson, William T., 8-10-62—Marble Valley, Ala. Conscript. Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-8-64.
- James, Edward Dargan, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Corporal. 4th Sergeant, 8-14-61. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Jeffreys (Jeffries), James, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 6-19-62.
- Jennings, Henry W.—Lowndesboro, Ala. Transferred from 3rd Alabama Regiment, 9-13-61. Died of illness while home, 9-7-62.
- Jennings, Samuel K., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 3rd Corporal. 1st Corporal, 8-14-61. 5th Sergeant, 9-1-61. Killed at battle of the Wilderness, 5-5-64.
- Johnson, C. C., 9-11-63—Marion, Ala. Conscript. Captured at Burkesville, Va., 4-6-65. Released, 6-14-65.
- Johnson, Charles P., 9-11-63—Conscript.
- Johnson, D. E. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Johnson, Henry S., 3-25-63—Marion, Ala. Conscript. Orderly for the Commanding Officer.
- Johnson, James, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Accidently shot. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-61.
- Johnson, Scott, 3-10-64—Selma, Ala. Conscript. Musician. Captured at battle of Hatcher's Run, Va., 2-6-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md., and paroled 6-14-65.

- Jones, Harrison. Died of illness at Amelia, C.H., Va., 5-12-62.
- Joy, W. H. His name appears on a list of prisoners of war on the Steamer Katskill, 8-5-62.
- Kelley, Gully, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.—Substitute. Wounded at battle of Burgess' Mill, 1-27-64.
- Kendrick, D. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 3-19-65.
- Kirkland, Moses S., 8-28-62—Echo, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Paroled at Albany, Ga., 5-24-65.
- Latner, John V., 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Fredericksburg, Va., 11-21-62.
- Lee (Lea), Henry C., 6-11-61—Marion, Ala. Transferred from Company K, 11th Alabama, 3-12-62. Detailed to Division Signal Corps, 7-28-63.
- Linn, W. J. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-19-65.
- Lockwell, J. A. 4th Corporal, 10-1-62. Deserted to the enemy.
- Logan, George W., 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died, 2-64.
- Logan, Henderson B., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Corporal, 8-1-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled n.d. Died at Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 4-3-65.
- Logan, William L., 5-21-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 10-61.
- Martin, William E., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Permanently disabled.
- McCullough, Rufus, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- McDonald, William, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 5-27-61.
- Milhouse, Clarence A., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. 1st Sergeant, 8-1-62. Deserted, 3-27-63. Took oath of allegiance.
- Morrison, William. Conscript. Deserted and took oath of allegiance to U. S. A.
- Murphy, Richard, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Fredericksburg, 12-13-62. Promoted to 1st Corporal for gallantry, 4-1-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness,

- 5-6-64. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Name placed on the Roll of Honor. Resigned, 12-64.
- Murray, W. E. His name appears on a register of payment to discharged soldiers, 1-25-64.
- Oakes, J. D. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. 4th Corporal, 3-64. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Oakes, John L., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Severely wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-9-64. Discharged and died from his wounds before reaching home.
- Oakes, Marcus D. L., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Captured near the end of the war.
- Oakes, William Thomas, 5-16-61—Marion, Ala. 1st Sergeant, 4-1-63. Accidentally wounded with an axe, 11-16-64. Paroled at Lynchburg, Va., 4-15-65.
- Oats, W. S. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as discharged to duty, 5-5-64.
- Ogly, W. T. Sergeant. His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 4, Richmond, Va., 5-6-63.
- Orr, James, 8-27-62—Marion, Ala. Conscript.
- Orr, Sample, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Teamster. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.
- Owens, Lewis G., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 3-62.
- Pearl, Thomas. His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 2, Richmond, Va., 11-5-62.
- Pedigo, Thomas J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-28-61.
- Perrin, Jasper. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Tuscaloosa, Ala., 5-18-65.
- Philpot, John C., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 7-62.
- Price, F. M.—His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 6-25-64.
- Rayel, Eugene, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-61.
- Roberson, (Robertson) Lewis J., 8-14-62—Elba, Ala. Substitute for a Conscript.
- Rowe, Fletcher, 8-19-62—McAndrew, Ala. Conscript. Died of illness near Fredericksburg, Va., 1-21-63.

- Rutherford, Thomas (William) J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 12-61.
- Rutledge, Benjamin W., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged, 9-27-62.
- Smelley (Smiley), Thomas J., 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 10-27-63.
- Smelley (Smiley), Samuel, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability from C. S. A. Hospital, Danville, Va., 7-62.
- Smith, Aaron, 8-26-62—Clopton, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of the Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.
- Smith, J. E. (L). His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 4, as admitted as patient, 2-20-63.
- Smith, N. His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as admitted as patient, 6-25-64.
- Snodly, Samuel, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 7-1-62.
- Speir, John P., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died of illness at home, 9-18-62.
- Stack, Richard, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. Deserted to the enemy, 9-5-62. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 9-12-62.
- Steele, J. His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Stevens, John M., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Detailed as guard at Bartlett's Hospital, Richmond, Va. Discharged due to physical disability, 7-62.
- Stockwell, John (James) A., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Exchanged, 7-16-62. 4th Corporal 10-62. Deserted to the enemy, 3-27-63, near Chancellorsville, Va.
- Taylor, Samuel. His name appears on a register of Seminary Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., as returned to duty, 12-26-61.
- Thompson, Samuel, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Tomblinson, James, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded and captured at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Paroled, 10-2-62. Died of illness at Mt. Jackson, Va., 21-11-62.

- Tomblinson, James W., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed on the picket line near Petersburg, Va., 10-27-64.
- Tomblinson, Ulysses, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to over age, 7-64.
- Traywick, William H., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Tubb, Felix T. Conscript. Captured at battle of Hatcher's Run, 2-7-65. Sent to City Point, Va., 2-8-65. Released, 6-8-65, from Point Lookout, Md.
- Tubb, George W., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 2nd Sergeant. Died, 6-16-62, from wounds received at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Tucker, David, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 4th Corporal, 4-1-63. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Tucker, John, 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-61.
- Vines, James A. (V), 8-6-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala. Conscript. Captured near Petersburg, Va., 2-65. Released at Point Lookout, Md., 6-21-65.
- Wacher, George. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Waddle, Richard J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. 5th Sergeant. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Walker (Wacher), George J., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Captured straggling near Sharpsburg, Md., 9-62. Exchanged, 11-10-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Walker, J. E. His name appears on a register of Small Pox Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-62.
- Walstead, J. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 2-20-63.
- Wamble, George W., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Ward, William H., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharged due to his wounds, 8-62.
- Weeks, Henry J., 8-8-62—Elba, Ala. Conscript. Deserted to the enemy, 8-2-64.
- Weeks, John W., 8-22-62—Camp Watts, Ala. Transferred from Company E, 1-1-64. Deserted, 1-65.
- Whitus, William R., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Sent to hospital in Richmond, Va., 8-62. Supposed to have died.

- Wilkenson, U. His name appears on a register of Seminary Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 12-26-61 as returned to duty.
- Williams, Francis (Frank), K., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Corporal, 5-61. 2nd Sergeant, 12-61. Died, 7-16-62, from wounds received at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Williams, J. H. His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-23-65.
- Williams, Robert M., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-1-61.
- Williamson, Sumpter M., 7-17-63—Richmond, Va. Transferred from Richmond City Battalion, 8-64. Wounded on picket line, 8-24-64.
- Wilson, E., 9-5-62—Macon Co., Ala. Conscript. Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-9-63.
- Wilson, Lewis J., 9-30-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed at battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-21-64.
- Woolly, H. A., 2-13-63—Marion, Ala. Conscript. Seriously wounded at battle of Gettysburg. 7-2-63. Leg amputated and discharged due to physical disability.
- Wyers, John Henry, 9-27-61—Marion, Ala. Accidentally wounded, 9-27-62. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-62.
- Winters, Benjamin F., 5-8-61—Marion, Ala. Killed at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62.

APPENDIX F

Company "B", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised on April 25, 1861, at Wetumpka, Coosa County, Alabama, as the "Governor's Guard" and was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

Officers

Captain T. W. W. Davies: 5-13-61 to 3-20-62. Promoted to Major of the 28th Alabama Infantry Regiment, 3-20-62.

Captain G. W. Hannon: 1st Lt., 5-17-61. Captain, 3-20-62. Died 8-8-62, from wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

Captain M. G. McWilliams: 2nd Lt., 5-17-61. 1st Lt., 3-20-62. Captain, 8-8-62. Died of illness, 1-10-64.

Captain G. T. L. Robison: 1st Sergeant, 5-13-61. 2nd Lt., 9-4-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. 1st Lt., 12-29-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Captain, 1-10-64. Paroled at Appomattox C.H., 4-9-65.

1st Lt. J. B. Hannon: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Promoted to 2nd Lt., 12-29-62. Wounded at battle of Spotylvania C.H., 5-12-64. 1st. Lt., 1-10-64. Paroled at Appomattox C.H., 4-9-65.

2nd Lt. Louis H. Crumpler: 5-17-61 to 12-4-61. Resigned due to physical disability.

2nd Lt. C. M. Maynard: Jr. 2nd Lt., 5-17-61. 2nd Lt., 12-15-61. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

2nd Lt. John M. Loyall: 2nd Sergeant, 5-13-61. Jr. 2nd Lt., 3-20-62. 2nd Lt., 5-2-62. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

2nd Lt. William J. Canterbury: 3rd Sergeant, 5-13-61. Jr. 2nd Lt., 6-30-62. 2nd Lt., 9-4-62. Died, 12-29-62, from wounds received at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.

2nd Lt. A. M. DeBardeleben: 4th Sergeant, 5-13-61. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Jr. 2nd Lt., 11-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Apparently paroled. 2nd Lt., 1-64. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala. 5-19-65.

Enlisted Ranks

- Arnold, B. R.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1862.
- Arnold, David C. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Arnold, J., 7-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed, 6-22-64, near Petersburg, Va.
- Arnold, Robert P. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Seriously wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Treated at various U. S. hospitals in and about Gettysburg, Pa. Apparently given wounded parole and sent to a Richmond hospital for further treatment, 6-64.
- Bailey, A. V. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. 4th Corporal. Discharged 9-21-61.
- Baker, James W. 8-15-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Detailed as Teamster with forage unit throughout war.
- Barron, J. B.: Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 1-27-63.
- Barron, T. J. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Treated at Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va. Furloughed to Alabama 7-25-63. Hospitalized in Montgomery, Ala., 9-1-64.
- Barwick, James G.: His name appears on a register of deceased soldiers from Alabama.
- Beck, W. E.: Died of illness, 3-4-63, at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Bern, D. H.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as admitted 11-10-62.
- Benton, B. P. 5-14-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Betts, William S. 9-1-61—Yorktown, Va. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Biggs, William, 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Detailed as Shoemaker to Columbus, Ga.
- Black, J. T.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-7-64.
- Black, W. E.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as dying 3-5-63.
- Blake, William, 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.

- Exchanged 8-5-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H. 4-9-65.
- Bowdoin, John W. 8-22-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Detailed to Army pontoon train.
- Bowley, G. W. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Bowley, W. H. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Released from Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 6-14-65.
- Bowring, John W. 8-2-62—Wetumpka, Ala. 3rd Corporal. Discharged, 12-9-61, due to physical disability.
- Bowring, Thompson. 5-15-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Musician. Discharged due to physical disability, 5-22-62.
- Brown, N. L.: His name appears on a register of Way Hospital, Meridian, Miss., 1-1-65.
- Buckner, Charles G. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Buckner, M. W. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Bulger, L. P. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Burk, Henry W. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 7-15-62.
- Butler, D. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Musician. Died of illness, 8-14-61.
- Burton, B. F.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Mobile, Ala., 6-18-65.
- Bush, John H. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Bush, R. T. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-16-65.
- Cain, William P. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Detailed as nurse at Camp Winder General Hospital, Richmond, V., 12-14-62.
- Cakhela, J.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-22-65.
- Campbell, G. 6-21-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 7-22-62.
- Campbell, O. H. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness. 9-20-62.
- Carden, John, 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Dropped from the roll.

- 7-30-63. It was thought that he died in a Richmond hospital.
- Cariker, George W. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 5-25-62.
- Cariker, W. W. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Carlton, Seaborn 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Indications are that he was exchanged for record indicates he was paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-19-65.
- Chaney, J. P.: His name appears on a register of Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as patient 12-62.
- Chappell, James L. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Exchanged. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Captured while patient in hospital in Richmond, Va., 4-3-65. Sent to Newport News Prison.
- Coker, W. P. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 7-10-61.
- Coleman, R. C. 5-11-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Hospitalized frequently thereafter. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-30-65.
- Connor, B. F. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Killed near Petersburg, Va., 5-1-64.
- Cook, Thomas M. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Present at siege of Yorktown, and battles of Williamsburg and Seven Pines. Hospitalized at C. S. A. General Hospital, Danville, Va., 4-63. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-6-63.
- Cooper, R. G. D. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-6-62.
- Coulton, S. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Captured and exchanged, No other information.
- Crittendon, E(C). T. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-12-63.
- Crow, W. T. 1-17-63—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Present throughout war. Deserted 3-24-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to Goshen, N.Y.
- Dallinger, J. G.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 3-3-63.

- Darrah, H. T. 5-18-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Later detailed with ambulance train. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Deason, A. J. 2-15-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Downs, W. W. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Present throughout the war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Dukes, William 2-24-64—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Wounded near Petersburg, Va., 8-16-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Edwards, A. 5-11-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Edwards, John R. 5-11-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Chronically ill. Dropped from the roll, 8-62.
- Ensley, J. W. 5-11-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 1-26-62.
- Evans, Bronson R. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Apparently given wounded parole for his name appears on a register of C. S. A. General Hospital, Farmville, Va., 8-28-63.
- Ferguson, John T. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Finn, J. His name appears on a muster roll of Camp Winder General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 10-31-62.
- Fleming, G. R. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Captured at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 11-10-62. Killed near Petersburg, Va., 6-13-64.
- Floyd, M (W). C. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Promoted to 2nd Corporal 8-31-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Forbus, G. F. 4-3-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Hospitalized frequently thereafter. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Forbus, Josiah, S. 4-3-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Discharged due to physical disability.
- Furgeson, J. T. 5-18-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-21-64. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-10-65.
- Gantt, David 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Deserted toward end of war, 3-19-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to Goshen, N. Y.

- Gay, J. N. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gilland, B. F. 3-10-64—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Killed at battle of Cold Harbor, 6-3-64.
- Ginn, A. V. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Physician. Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Ginn, W. J. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-16-61.
- Goodwin, J. T. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured at battle of Hatcher's Run, Va., 2-7-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Released 6-2-65.
- Hall, Soseph, 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Hall, William A. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Given wounded parole. Deserted 1-10-64.
- Harold, D.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.
- Harris, A. C. 4-12-62—Wetumpka, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-11-64. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-17-65.
- Harris, B. F. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Harris, W. J. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Died of illness, 9-22-62.
- Haynes, John H. 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Haynes, Zachariah, 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Captured while detailed to care for wounded at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Exchanged 2-18-65. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Henden, J.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Hendrix, A. W. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Hoffle, A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 4-17-64.

- Hopper, J.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-23-65.
- Hopper, W. W. 5-16-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Corporal. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Transferred to Company E, 38th Georgia Regiment, January 1864, being a citizen of Georgia.
- Horton, James L. 4-5-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled or exchanged 7-30-63. Died of illness in Richmond hospital, 1-20-65.
- Horton, William H. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Right leg amputated. Given wounded parole. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Howard, J. N. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Present throughout war. Corporal 2-29-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Howard, Wiley M. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: 1st Corporal. Severely wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Never returned to full duty. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-16-65.
- Hupps, W. W. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Transferred to 38th Georgia Regiment, 1-64.
- Isley, S. T.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 9-16-63.
- Jester, Nathan, 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: 5th Sergeant. Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Johnson, B.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 6-11-63.
- Johnson, J.: Died of illness at Camp Winder General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-28-62.
- Johnson, William I.: Died at Fredericksburg, Va. n.d.
- Jordan, J. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness in a Richmond, Va., hospital, 7-15-62.
- Jordan, William R. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness, 6-7-62.
- Jowers, J. A. D. M. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Fraziers' Farm, 6-30-62. Detailed as Provost Guard 11-18-63.
- Kappel, M. G. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Discharged 9-12-61.
- Kelley, C. H. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness, 7-12-62.

- Kelly, M. J. 4-25-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Detailed to Brigade wagon yard.
- Leak, T. F. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Present with Company throughout war. Promoted to Sergeant 2-29-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Lesenbo, J. L.: His name appears on a register for pay for the period of 5-1-63 to 6-30-63.
- Lewis, W. D. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Detailed as Division Wagoner. Killed at battle of Totopotomoy Creek, 6-1-64.
- Lyle, M. P. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 3-15-62.
- Maddox, S. J. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Killed. n.d.
- Martin, John. 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala. Present with Company throughout war. Promoted to Corporal 2-29-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Matthews, B. K.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 6-2-64.
- Matthews, H.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty 9-64.
- McCarly, J.: His name appears on a register of prisoners of war at Hart's Island, New York Harbor, 4-10-65.
- Melton, John W.: Conscript. Discharged, 3-13-63, by providing a substitute.
- Merritt, J. W.: Conscript. Died of illness 11-28-62.
- Michaud, P.: 4-25-64—Conscript. Detailed to hospital duty with 3rd Army Corps.
- Miller, John 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gettysburg. Never returned to active duty.
- Morris, W. L. 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged n.d. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-31-65.
- Nall, W. A., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Deserted 11-63. Is supposed to have remained in C. S. A.
- Paterson, George: Conscript. Record of frequent hospitalization but no combat duty.
- Patten, John: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 2-20-64.
- Patterson, George: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-18-62.

- Pennington, J., 4-25-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 5-15-62.
- Rainey, W. F., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness, 9-20-62.
- Rawls (Rawles), M. D., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Reed, J. F.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., as captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63.
- Reneau, John H., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Corporal. Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Reneau, J. W., 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 11-1-61.
- Reves, J. H.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Riddle, D. G., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness n.d.
- Robison, A., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 11-30-61.
- Robison, Joseph S., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 9-13-62.
- Robinson, L. D., 2-26-64—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Transferred to Company I, 12th Alabama Infantry Regiment.
- Sasnett, L., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 7-8-62.
- Shackelford, F., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines 6-1-62. Promoted to Corporal and Sergeant n.d. Wounded on enemy's left flank at Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.
- Smith, John T., 3-30-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Never fully recovered from his wound and discharged 3-5-63.
- Smith, J. Y.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as discharged 1-1-63.
- Spears, Daniel W.: His name appears on a register of claims by family of deceased soldiers. Claim filed by widow Maria 3-19-63.
- Spigner, G. M., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Promoted to 4th Sergeant 12-21-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness 5-6-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Strock, J. S., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 12-16-61.
- Swindal, D. W., 5-21-63—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to DeCamp Gen-

eral Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Not exchanged.

Swindal, John G., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg 7-5-63. Died of illness at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 12-24-63.

Taylor, J. J., 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm 6-30-62. Transferred to C. S. Navy, 12-63.

Towler, H. F., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 7-25-62.

Trice, F. M., 7-21-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Transferred from 12th Alabama Regiment. Wounded in action around Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64. Deserted to the enemy 3-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.

Trice, T. F.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.

Walkley, E. A., 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 6-22-62.

Wallace, F. D., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg 9-17-62.

Watkins, R. O., 8-9-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized in Richmond hospitals almost constantly after reporting to Company.

Weip, John, 7-25-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg 7-5-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Paroled 9-2-63.

Whitaker, W. W., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness 1-3-62.

White, J. M., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gurley's Farm, Va., 6-23-64.

White, R., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Died of illness at Chimborazo General Hospital No. 3, Richmond, Va., 4-15-62.

White, W.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-65.

White, W. J., 4-5-62—Wetumpka, Ala.: Record indicates he was ill and hospitalized throughout most of the war.

White, W. E.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as patient, 7-14-64.

Wilf, J. W., 5-13-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-31-62. Captured at battle of

Gettysburg 7-2-63. Again sent to Fort Delaware Prison. Released 6-14-65.

Wright, J. L., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability 7-16-62.

Wright, W.: His name appears on a register of Camp Winder General Hospital No. 4, as patient from 10-27-62 to 11-28-62, and then transferred to Camp Lee, Va.

Yarbrough, J. R., 5-17-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gettysburg 7-2-63.

Yarbrough, M. B., 9-30-61—Wetumpka, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Hanover Junction, Va., 5-24-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

APPENDIX G

Company "C", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised on May 18, 1861, at Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama, as the "Alex Stephens Guards" and was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

OFFICERS

Captain Charles T. Ketchum: 5-18-61 to 11-8-61. Resigned.

Captain Leonard F. Summers: 1st Lt., 5-18-61. Captain, 11-13-61. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.

Captain W. Ben Briggs: 2nd Lt., 5-18-61. 1st Lt., 11-13-61. Captain, 6-1-62. Resigned, 10-15-62.

Captain Henry C. Lea: 1st Sergeant, 5-18-61. 2nd Lt., 11-13-61. 1st Lt., 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Captain, 10-15-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Absent, wounded, thereafter.

Captain W. T. Pettus: Private, 5-18-61. Captain, 1-26-62. Detailed as Provost Marshall. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

1st Lt. Henry McHugh: 3rd Sergeant, 5-18-61. Jt. 2nd Lt., 12-30-61. 2nd Lt., 6-4-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 1st Lt., 10-15-62. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

2nd Lt. James A. Finch: Dismissed from the service, 12-23-61, as the result of a Court Martial.

2nd Lt. Frank B. Miller: Private, 5-18-61. Sergeant, 1-4-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 2nd Lt., 7-15-62. Wounded (loss of left arm) and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.

2nd Lt. Mike D. McDonald: Private, 5-18-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 2nd Lt., 12-16-63. Severely wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Retired 8-3-64.

2nd Lt. Robert Gaddes: Private, 5-18-61. Sergeant, 1-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. 2nd Lt., 1-12-65. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Enlisted Ranks

Andrews, James C., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. Corporal, 2-1-64. Wounded at

- battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Captured while a patient in a Richmond hospital, 4-3-65. Took oath of allegiance at Newport News, Va., and released, 6-24-65.
- Armstrong, Charles, 6-13-64—Jefferson City, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 2-15-65.
- Ashlock, Henry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A good soldier. Captured at Jackson Hospital, Richmond, Va., 4-3-65. Paroled 4-22-65.
- Baggett, John, 6-13-64—Jefferson City, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness, 9-3-64.
- Barton, M. C., 6-13-64—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Listed as a prisoner of war at Libby Prison, Richmond, Va., 4-10-65.
- Batchelor, George B., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 6-26-61.
- Bates, J. R.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-31-64.
- Bonneau, (Benneau), H. S., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A good soldier. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 9-30-64.
- Bolling, Daniel, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A good and brave soldier. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Bonham, Simeon, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A good soldier. Died at Chesapeake General Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 6-6-62.
- Brown, H. S.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 10-6-64.
- Brown, John, 8-1-62: Conscript. Frequently hospitalized in Richmond.
- Bryant, Henry, 6-13-64: Conscript. Wounded at the breastworks near Petersburg, Va., 9-6-64. Captured 4-65.
- Callahan, John C., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A brave soldier. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Campbell, John, 2-1-64—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy.
- Campbell, Samuel: Deserted to the enemy, 8-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 9-29-64.
- Carney, W. S.: His name appears on a record of men paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-12-65.
- Cassey, John D.: His name appears on a record of prisoners of war paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-12-65.

- Caughlin, John A., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted from the Company, but remained in C. S. A. service.
- Clark, Richard, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to old age.
- Cleveland, Joseph C., 2-1-62—Mobile, Ala.: Died of typhoid fever, 6-14-62.
- Clousett, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Sergeant, 2-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 49-65.
- Coffield, C. W. Jr., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 7-62.
- Connelly, Patrick, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Apparently given wounded parole. Discharged due to physical disability, 4-14-63.
- Cook, William R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, 12-26-61.
- Cooper, Henry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. A good and brave soldier.
- Cooper, J. M., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Retired, 5-10-63, due to his wounds.
- Cortright (Coatright), A. W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Detailed to Engineer's Department, Mobile, Ala., 9-7-63.
- Cox, Francis, 5-18-62—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed at Camp Lee, Va., as Baker throughout most of the war.
- Cummings, J. W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65. A good and brave soldier.
- Curmeitter, C. F.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-2-63.
- Curry, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. A good and brave soldier. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Curtis, H. K., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 10-61, while detailed to work on gunboats.
- Dade, Jerry, 5-23-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician. Present through 1861.
- David, L. J.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-13-65.
- Dearman, Thomas L., 7-2-64—Sumter Co., Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

- Deeley, John H.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Denman, Robert, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of typhoid fever at a Danville, Va., hospital, 7-19-62.
- Denmark, W. B., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A. service.
- Denny, Joseph W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Corporal. Seriously wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-9-64. Retired due to loss of a leg.
- Dix, Frisby T., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 11-11-64. Sergeant, 12-31-64.
- Donovan, William G. (Donnavan), 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A. service.
- Dupes, C. W.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 10-23-64.
- Dyer, S.: Conscript. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 10-9-64.
- Eastburn, C. R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, 12-16-61.
- Echols, Lewis B., 6-20-64—Shelby Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Ennis, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 6-2-63.
- Farnor (Farnon), James, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died, 6-18-62, at Mill Creek U. S. A. General Hospital, Fort Monroe, Va., as the result of wound received in skirmish at Mill Creek, Va.
- Foster, R. M., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to Company A.
- Foy, Thomas, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-18-65. A brave soldier.
- Gallagher, William C., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 4-2-62.
- Gardner, George P., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Corporal. Discharged due to physical disability.
- Garrett, B. L.: Died, 2-17-63, at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Gayle, George B., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A.

- Gedling, Fred: Hospitalized with severe scald at Seminary Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 12-12-61.
- Gill, Joseph K., 6-8-64—Jefferson City, Ala.: Hospitalized frequently, and saw little, if any, active service. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Goodwin, Frederick H., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 6-2-63.
- Gould, H. L., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A.
- Gould, M. B., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64. A good soldier.
- Graham, Jesse H., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Retired due to his wounds.
- Griggs, D. M.: Corporal. Recorded as a prisoner of war and paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-65.
- Hammock, James H., 8-1-62—Camp Watts, Va.: Conscript. Wounded on Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64. A good soldier.
- Hartley, Daniel, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 2-16-62.
- Hartley, Frank E., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 2-1-64. Wounded at battle of Cold Harbor, 6-4-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hartley, Henry C., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wagoner. Paroled at Mobile, Ala., 6-12-65.
- Hartley, James G., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, 4-31-62.
- Higglotten, A. A.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-65.
- Hobart, Henry J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Corporal. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Hogan, Patrick, 5-16-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Joined the 1st Connecticut Cavalry.
- Jackson, Henry: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Jackson, John W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy.
- James, Henry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.

- Jarvis, John W., 8-1-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 2-21-64.
- Jordan, F. M., 8-22-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died in Richmond, Va., hospital, 5-31-63.
- Kennedy, Thomas, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant, 2-64. Killed at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-9-64. A good soldier.
- Kirkland, Benjamin J., 8-28-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Knott, R. F.: Captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Knox, Asa W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured (or deserted) at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Sent to Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D. C.
- Lacoste, A., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged 1861.
- Lane, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died, 6-10-63, at Chimborazo General Hospital No. 4, Richmond, Va.
- Langdon, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. A good and brave soldier.
- Lappington, Albert P., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy.
- Lassiter, Joel, 8-1-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 10-14-63.
- LeGett, S. P., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Apparently never returned to active duty.
- Libraham (Lybram), W. J., 6-26-64—Conscript. Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Loveless, Andrew M., 6-6-64—Jefferson City, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy, 3-30-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to Nashville, Tenn.
- Lyons, Cornelius: Dropped from the roll as a deserter. Returned to duty, 4-27-64.
- McCabe, Thomas W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician. Deserted to the enemy, 9-20-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- McClinton, James A., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Promoted to Sergeant, 1-4-62. A brave soldier.
- McDonald, Charles, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to general physical disability.
- McElroy, A. J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Detailed to Ordnance Department, Richmond, Va.

- McInnerney, P. W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Released, 5-15-65.
- McKinzie, H. D., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged, 8-5-62.
- McLaine, T. L.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-19-65.
- Melton, J. J.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-8-65.
- Middlebrook, W. E.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-13-65.
- Moore, W. D.: Captured near Shipensburg, Pa., 6-28-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63.
- Morgan, E. C., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Detailed as Provost Guard for remainder of the war.
- Morgan, John, 8-8-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died of typhoid fever in a Richmond hospital, 6-11-63.
- Morgan, M. V., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. Never returned to active duty.
- Morman, George W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Died of typhoid fever in a Richmond hospital, 2-21-64.
- Morisson, Everett (Edward), 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Supposed to have joined Morgan's Cavalry.
- Nesmith, O. W.: His name appears on a record of prisoners of war who died at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 8-29-63.
- Newman, Thomas D., 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured (or deserted) after battle of Gettysburg, near Fairfield, Pa., 7-8-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Joined U. S. 3rd Maryland Cavalry.
- Norman, G. W.: Died at General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 1864.
- Norres, Matt, 4-28-64—Chambers Co., Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently. Saw little, if any, active service.
- Morris, James A., 8-28-62—Macon Co. Ala.: Conscript. Transferred from Company F, 2-1-64.

- Norton, James, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died in U. S. A. Hospital, York, Pa., 1-11-64. A good soldier.
- O'Brien, James, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant, 11-25-62. Wounded at battle of Burgess' Mill, 10-22-64.
- O'Connor, Thomas, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg. Died of pneumonia at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 8-13-63. A good soldier.
- Pagles, John F., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 2nd Sergeant. Discharged due to physical disability, 6-20-62.
- Pate, T. W., 8-16-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript.
- Pate, W. A., 8-17-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-3-65. A good soldier.
- Pearson, H. M.: His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 1, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 4-30-62.
- Peterson, E. A.: His name appears on a register of C. S. A. General Hospital, Farmville, Va., 6-62.
- Peterson, Jacob, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Pettus, W. T., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 1-26-62. Killed at battle of Gaines Mill, 6-27-62.
- Phealen, A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, 5-6-63.
- Philebert (Phillibert), Oscar, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy.
- Phillips, John R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Name placed on the Roll of Honor at the battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Powell, Charles, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 2nd Corporal. Deserted his Company but remained in C. S. service.
- Powell, James F., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. Discharged due to his wounds.
- Powers, Mike, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Rawson, Edward, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. A good and brave soldier.

- Robinson, Charles, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. service.
- Rodgers, Edward J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Transferred to Company I.
- Rogers, J. E.: A record indicates he received pay in 1862.
- Rowland, Robert, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Ryan, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wagoner. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Sanford, Thad, Jr., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 1-62. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Scannel, Fred, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy.
- Scott, Frank, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged.
- Shaw, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. A good and brave soldier. Surrendered 4-5-65.
- Shields, John G., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Simmons, J.: Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Smith, George, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Topotomoy Creek, 6-1-64.
- Smith, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. A good and brave soldier.
- Smith, T. R.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Spears, A. B.: His name appears on a register of deceased Confederate soldiers, 9-9-64.
- Spears, J. C., 8-28-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Transferred to Company F.
- Steel, Henry, 4-16-64—Jackson City, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy.
- Steel, Jayson, 4-16-64—Jackson City, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-3-64.
- Stillman, John F., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant, 3-1-64. Killed at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Stone, William D., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-18-61.
- Stone, W. R.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Sutten, J. E.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-12-65.

- Talleen (Tallon), Joseph B., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor. Sergeant, 5-1-63. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Theratt, Hiram: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-12-65.
- Thomasson, M. D., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Transferred to C. S. Navy at Mobile, Ala.
- Truelove, Elijah, 7-2-64—Sumter Co., Ala.: Conscript. Present in the late stages of the war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Tucker, A. W.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-10-65.
- Tyson, A. J., 8-28-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-18-65.
- Vincent, W. H., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. A good and brave soldier.
- Vinson, James H., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Deserted 4-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia.
- Wakefield, W. R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Discharged due to being over age.
- Webster, Henry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged.
- Welsh, A. J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65. A good and brave soldier.
- White, Daniel, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. A good soldier. Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A. service.
- Whitley, John J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: A good soldier. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Captured during the last week of the war. Paroled at Farmville, Va., 4-65.
- Willingham, William T., 8-28-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. A good soldier. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Wilson, E. J., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Commissary Sergeant. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.

Winters, Abram, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Detailed as Regimental Wagoner. Deserted, 2-65.

Womack, N. P., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, n.d.

Wright, D. D.: Captured at battle of South Mountain during the 1st Maryland Campaign, 9-14-62. Exchanged 10-6-62.

Wright, Henry, 8-28-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Gettysburg. A good soldier.

Wright, Reuben, 8-5-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 9-21-63.

APPENDIX H

Company "D", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised in 1838 as an independent Company in the Alabama State Militia, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, as the "Independent Blues". On March 2, 1861, it was mustered into the Army of Alabama for State defense. It was mustered in C. S. A. service June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

OFFICERS

Captain James Kent: 5-10-61 to 11-1-61. Resigned.

Captain Robert A. McCrary: 1st Lt., 5-10-61. Captain, 11-8-61.
Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.

Captain William R. Knox: 1st Sergeant. 2nd Lt., 1-27-62. Captain, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Paroled at appomattox C. H. 4-9-65.

1st Lt. Andrew Bogle: 5-10-61 to 11-8-61. Resigned.

1st Lt. J. Crane Shermerhorn: 5-10-61 to 1-27-62. Resigned.

1st Lt. Charles F. Brown: Corporal. 2nd Lt., 11-62. 1st Lt., 9-19-64. Retired due to physical disability, 2-5-65. Received Regimental compliment for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg.

2nd Lt. Patrick H. Mayes: Corporal. Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Elected 2nd Lt., 5-8-63. Killed at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.

2nd Lt. John H. Robinson: Sergeant. 2nd Lt., 1-27-62. Retired due to physical disability, 11-1-62.

2nd Lt. David B. Sullivan: 1st Lt., 5-3-63. Detailed to the Conscript Bureau, 10-23-63. Dropped from the Company roll, 9-19-64.

2nd Lt. Charles B. Woods: Sergeant. 2nd Lt., 1-27-62. Seriously wounded at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Retired due to physical disability, 7-8-62.

Enlisted Ranks

Anderson, David L., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Seriously injured, 9-2-63. Retired due to physical disability, 5-17-64. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-16-65.

- Anderson, J. N., 6-1-64—Talladega, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy, 9-24-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. at City Point, Va., 9-28-64.
- Arnold, Isaac, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 11-25-64. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia, Pa.
- Aunspaugh, John H., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Promoted to Quartermaster of the Regiment, 8-63.
- Baker, John, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Commissary Guard. Promoted to Corporal, 1864. Captured in late weeks of war. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 5-16-65. Transportation furnished to New York City.
- Becker, Winslow P., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: On Company muster roll of original Company.
- Bell, John G., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Confined at Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D. C. Released. Detailed to Quartermaster Dept., Talladega, Ala. Paroled at Talladega, 5-19-65.
- Bell, W. Randolph, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Sergeant. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-1-65.
- Bill, James A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed to C. S. A. armory at Selma, Ala., 11-62.
- Bohlia, George W., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Boley, Marion A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Paroled. Assigned to C. S. A. munition armory, Selma, Ala. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 5-29-65.
- Bolles, John D., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Hospital Steward.
- Bosworth, J. Larry, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged; n.d. Detailed to C. S. Ordnance Dept., Columbus, Ga., 3-29-64.
- Boyle, Maurice J., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala. Detailed as Ward Master in Military hospital.
- Brown, John, 8-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at Richmond during last weeks of the war. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md., 6-65.
- Brown, John A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Hospital Steward, 5-9-63.

- Bundy, John, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Wounded 8-11-64 in Petersburg, Va., area. Died as the result of his wound at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 9-7-64.
- Burr, Charles A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: 4th Corporal.
- Butler, Sumner E., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Wagon-master. Captured at Williamsport, Md., 7-6-63, during Confederate retreat from the battle of Gettysburg. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Byrd, William M. Jr., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Promoted to Sergeant Major of the Regiment, 6-15-61. Promoted and transferred as Asst. Commissary Officer.
- Callen, James C., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged 10-2-62. Died, 10-14-63, of carditis.
- Cleveland, Morgan S., 6-12-61—Selma, Ala.: Quartermaster Sergeant 7-61. Promoted to Adjutant of the Regiment 6-28-73. Wounded at battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-20-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Coggins, David C., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Mounted orderly for Colonel of the Regiment. Captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison. Died of illness 10-17-63.
- Colton, Edward G., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Hospital Steward. Surrendered and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 4-24-65.
- Coneley, Louis Alexander, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Transferred to Colonel Coneley's Regiment.
- Connelly, Randolph, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Died at General Hospital No. 21, Richmond, Va., 5-5-62.
- Coville, David A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison. Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Croswell, Robert H. Jr.: Transferred to a Mississippi Regiment, 3-28-62.
- Cunningham, G. W., 4-1-62—Columbus, Ala.: Transferred from Tennessee Cavalry, 10-3-63.
- Curley, W. J.: His name appears on a register of hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-7-64.
- Dalton, A. W.: Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Daughtry, William T., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed to C. S. A. armory, Selma, Ala., 9-5-63.
- Day, Marshall, 10-64: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Dees, J.: Died of illness at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 6-1-63.
- Donaho, William E., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: 5th Sergeant. Mortally wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Dougherty, James N., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Severely wounded (loss of left leg) at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Retired 1-10-63.
- Dovely, John: His name appears on a register of C. S. A. Post Hospital as returned to duty, 12-17-62.
- Drake, Norman B., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed to C. S. A. armory at Selma, Ala.
- Dunlap, G. R., 8-21-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C.H., 4-9-65.
- Edmonds, J. H.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Died, 8-28-63, while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Edmondson, William B., 5-25-61—Richmond, Va.: Color Bearer.
- Edwards, R. H., 11-10-62—Culpepper, Va.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died, 8-28-63, while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Edwards, S. A.: Transferred from 22nd Alabama Regiment, 10-7-63.
- Ellis, Edward, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Deserted and captured at Fairfield, Pa., during retreat from battle of Gettysburg, 7-6-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Elmore, R. G.: Conscript. Captured as patient in hospital in Richmond, Va., 4-3-65.
- Engar, Charles: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged. 2-18-65.
- Evans, W. Hampton, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as courier for Surgeon General. Killed in action near Petersburg, Va., 9-14-64.
- Ezell, Joseph W., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Detailed as Courier for General A. P. Hill. Injured, and detailed to C. S. A. arsenal, Selma, Ala.
- Faxon, Henry Jr., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Captured at Falling Waters, Md., 7-14-63. Sent to Old Capitol Prison,

- Washington, D. C. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 12-7-63.
- Fitzgerald, James, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Apparently given wounded parole for his name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 6-64. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 5-29-65.
- Foster, J. A., 9-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Foster, Samuel N., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Sergeant. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Released on wounded parole. Detailed to C. S. A. arsenal, Selma, Ala. Paroled at Selma, 6-65.
- Gardner, Thomas G., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Transferred to 4th Alabama Battalion, 2-8-62.
- Garrett, William A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Died of illness 7-28-61.
- Coggins, D. C., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Missing at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Goodwin, J. R.: Mortally wounded in skirmish in Petersburg, Va., area, 9-13-64.
- Granger, Luther B., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died 7-23-62.
- Granger, William H., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Record of frequent hospitalizations. Discharged 3-4-63.
- Griffin, James A., 8-20-62—Tallapoosa, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63. Paroled 2-18-65.
- Griffin, Samuel T., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present with Company through August 1861.
- Guinn, Green A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died at Point Lookout Prison, Md., about 8-10-64.
- Guntry, S. C.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Treated at hospitals in and about Gettysburg, Pa.
- Hadeler, Adolphus T., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-3-62.
- Haden, Joel, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present with Company through August 1861.

- Hall, B. F.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1863.
- Hall, J.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty 10-11-64.
- Handley, H. H., 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Reported missing 6-23-64.
- Handley, J. E.: Severely wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Apparently released to Confederates for treatment. Died in Richmond hospital following the amputation of his right arm.
- Harp, Angus, 9-3-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Treated at U. S. Army General Hospital, Baltimore, Md. Transferred to a Richmond hospital as wounded parolee. Leg amputated 11-18-63.
- Harp, Joseph, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: His name appears on an early undated muster roll. May have been detailed elsewhere as Joiner.
- Harrington, S.: His name appears on a register of the 1st Mississippi C. S. A. Hospital, Jackson, Miss., 8-3-64.
- Harris, Robert T., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Captured near Frederick, Md., 10-7-62. Paroled about 11-29-62 from Fort McHenry, Md.
- Harrison, Benjamin C., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged at Bethel, Va., 12-7-61.
- Hattery, T. J.: Conscript. His name appears on an admission record of U. S. A. General Hospital, Baltimore, Md., as paroled.
- Hickman, J. H., 8-1-61—Yorktown, Va.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Detailed as nurse in Confederate Hospitals in and about Richmond, Va. Paroled at Richmond, 5-1-65.
- Holton, Horace W., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: 1st Sergeant. Died 4-5-62 from wounds received while on picket duty.
- Houghs, J. H.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-22-65.
- Huffman, James K., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

- Hull, Benjamin F., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Detailed to Quartermaster Corps. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Ireland, W. W., 3-12-62: Transferred from 28th Alabama Regiment, 10-63.
- Izell, J. W., 8-1-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript.
- Jones, Daniel, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Appointed Assistant Quartermaster, 9th Alabama Infantry, 5-14-63. Present at Siege of Yorktown, and battles of Seven Pines and Salem Church.
- Jones, T. C., 8-8-62—Macon, Ala.: Conscript.
- Kelley, J. S.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Kirkland, W. R., 9-3-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: His name appears on a Company muster roll, 9-3-63.
- Kirkpatrick, James M., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Died of illness in Richmond hospital, 6-22-62.
- Kitchen, R. A., 2-1-62—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred from 22nd Alabama Regiment, 10-7-63.
- Kohn, Frederick M., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 7-18-61.
- Lapsley, Robert O., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Quartermaster. Discharged 8-1-62.
- Leary, J.: Conscript. Detailed as Hospital Steward to General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 8-23-64.
- Leroy, Joseph, 3-9-63—Fredericksburg, Va.: Conscript. Wounded near Darbytown, Va., and leg amputated 8-16-64. Retired 12-12-64.
- Lester, J. R., 9-15-61—Montgomery, Ala.: Transferred from 22nd Alabama Regiment, 10-7-63.
- Linebaugh, William, 5-23-61—Montgomery, Ala.: Color Guard. Mortally wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Locke, D. W. L., 9-3-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Va., 5-22-64.
- Lockridge, R. G.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Lundie, Benjamin M., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Assigned as Provost Guard.
- Mack, Otto: Discharged due to physical disability, 2-19-62.
- Malone, A.(J) C.: Conscript. Mortally wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

- Maples, William S., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present with original Company.
- Martin, Joshua L., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-2-62.
- Mays, C. H.: Present with original Company.
- McCurdy, Lucius, 5-20-61—Marion, Ala.: Sergeant 1863. Wounded at skirmish at St. James College, Hagerstown, Md., 7-12-63, during retreat from battle of Gettysburg. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Marritt, J. G., 8-26-62—Marion, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released 6-14-65.
- Miller, Charles P., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present with original Company.
- Moore, Isaac Tate, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Sent to Fort Monroe, Va. Apparently given wounded parole. Discharged due to physical disability, 10-15-62.
- Morris, F. R., 8-15-62—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness in Richmond hospital, 6-63.
- Morris, J. A. J., 12-23-63—Montgomery, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 10-23-64.
- Morris, M. W., 9-11-62—Marble Valley, Ala.: Died of illness at Gordonsville, Va., 5-17-64.
- Morris, Zachariah S., 9-2-63—Marble Valley, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 7-31-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64. Again sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Later transferred to Elmira Prison, N. Y.
- Neil, C., 6-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Record of hospitalization at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 9-21-64.
- Norris, Thomas P., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Sent to Fort Monroe, Va. Subsequently died as the result of his wound.
- Page, Norborne, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Promoted to 1st Sergeant, n.d. May have been promoted to 2nd Lt., of 1st Alabama Artillery Battalion.

- Penn, E. L., 1-2-63—Fredericksburg, Va.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 12-15-64.
- Pittman, G. P.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Porter, Thomas W. D., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62.
- Powell, William H., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Killed at the battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Read, W. J.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing during 4th quarter of 1864.
- Reeves, William L.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war captured in Alabama, 4-65.
- Reid, W. J., 5-6-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: His name appears on Company muster roll for September and October, 1864.
- Reynolds, James M., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 8-62.
- Riketson, Oliver R., 3-2-62—York Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released 6-14-65.
- Rickland, W. R., 9-3-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Died of illness 1-64.
- Roach, Milton A., 5-23-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged 7-12-61 to accept a promotion.
- Robbins, Julius A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Appointed Assistant Quartermaster of the Regiment 6-12-61. Resigned 9-30-63.
- Robinson, A. M.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Rowe, George T.: His name appears on a register of claims by family of deceased soldiers.
- Salmonds, B. B.: His name appears on a register of claims by family of deceased soldiers.
- Satterfield, James R., 2-18-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 4-2-63.
- Seligsburg, Abraham, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Seriously wounded and captured at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Given wounded parole from Fort Monroe, Va., 8-3-62. Discharged due to disability caused by his wounds, 11-18-62.
- Senebaugh, W. H.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Shortridge, Eli, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Mortally wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Died at Mill

- Creek U. S. A. Hospital, near Fort Monroe, Va., 6-29-62.
Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Sides, W. R.: Transferred from 22nd Alabama Regiment, 5-3-63.
- Simmons, A., 8-20-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Smith, Andrew J., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Died in a Richmond hospital, 5-62.
- Smith, J. M., 9-4-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: His name appears on a register of Camp Winder General Hospital, 9-4-62, 10-24-62, and 1-15-63.
- Sommerville, Walter Jr., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Medical Assistant at Bigelow Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Spence, D. A.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va. n.d.
- Sterne, Joseph, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Deserted while a patient in hospital.
- Stevens, J. H.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Transferred as Teamster to Regiment's Ordnance.
- Strange, R. M.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-22-65.
- Stubbs, James A.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for 4th quarter of 1864, and again appears on a register of the Federal Provost Marshall's Office, 4th District, Richmond, Va., near end of war.
- Sullivan, Dennis, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present with original Company.
- Sweeny, William H., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Assigned as Ward Master in a Mobile, Ala., hospital.
- Swindle, E. D.: A record indicates he was on duty with the Company in December, 1863, as transferred from 56th Alabama Regiment.
- Taylor, F. G.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.
- Taylor, J. A., 8-62—Walker, Ala.: Transferred from 56th Alabama Regiment, 10-7-63.
- Taylor, S. P., 11-22-63—Jasper, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Hanover Junction, 5-24-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y., where he died of illness, 8-20-64.
- Taylor, Thomas G., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present throughout war. Captured near Farmville, Va., 4-6-65.

- Thomas, Bruce P., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded in both legs at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Thompson, John E.: Died of illness at General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Va., 11-17-62.
- Tilton, Joshua A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharged due to the disability caused by his wounds.
- Underwood, Sylvanus G., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Promoted to Sergeant, 1863. Discharged by furnishing substitute, 3-9-63.
- Walker, Jenk R., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed as Carpenter in Quartermaster Corps, 8-61.
- Wallis, J. W., 8-20-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Present with Company until end of war. Paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-20-65.
- Webster, Robert E., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Detailed to build houses for staff.
- West, James, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 8-61.
- Whatley, Thomas, 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Corporal. Wounded and captured during retreat from battle of Gettysburg, 7-14-63. Left leg amputated. Given wounded parole. Discharged 2-11-64.
- Whelen (Wheelen), John P., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to physical disability caused by his wounds. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- White, Garland A., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 1861.
- Williams, W. R., 8-21-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Williamson, J. M.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Wise, Frank F., 5-10-61—Selma, Ala.: Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Wood, J. B.: Transferred from 2nd Tennessee Cavalry, 10-7-63.
- Wright, J. B.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 7-7-63. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md., 2-18-65.
- Zell, E.: His name appears on a weekly report in the Hospital Department, Selma, Ala., for extension of furlough, 1-8-63.

APPENDIX I

Company "E", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised on May 8, 1861, at Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama, as the "**Hamp Smith Rifles**" and was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861.

OFFICERS

Captain William T. Smith: 5-6-61 to 10-20-61. Resigned.

Captain Crawford Blackwood: 1st Lt., 5-6-61. Captain, 12-27-61. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Resigned on Surgeon's Certificate, 9-30-62.

Captain A. H. Ravesies: 2nd Lt., 5-6-61. 1st Lt., 12-28-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Captain, 9-30-62. Retired 9-17-64.

1st Lt., Eugene Brooks: 2nd Lt., 5-6-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 1st Lt., 9-30-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Retired 11-15-64.

1st Lt. William R. Sterling: 2nd Sergeant, 5-6-61. Jr. 2nd Lt., 1-62. 2nd Lt., 10-62. 1st Lt., 11-15-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Later transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., and then Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio. It can be safely assumed that he was released or exchanged, since he is credited with compiling a roster of the Company 12-31-64. Mentioned as conspicuous for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.

2nd Lt. William A. Ryan: Private, 5-6-61. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Promoted to 2nd Lt., for gallantry, 5-3-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Later transferred to Fort McHenry Prison, then Fort Delaware Prison, then Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio.

2nd Lt. Francis J. Jones: Private, 5-6-61. Name placed on Roll of Honor 2nd Lt., 1-16-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Enlisted Ranks

Aarens, A. H., 5-6-64—Wetumpka, Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 1-25-65.

- Adams, Robert, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-14-64. Deserted to the enemy, 8-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to New York City.
- Adams, Thomas, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, but remained in the service of the C. S. A.
- Allen, Benjamin S., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-10-62.
- Ard, James, 8-29-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died of pneumonia, 2-10-63.
- Armstrong, William C., 8-16-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Died at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-9-64.
- Arons, Henry: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.
- Baldwin, James W., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Sergeant. Deserted his Company, but remained in C. S. A. service.
- Baldwin, William J., 8-27-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Bartlett, E. H., 8-30-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Bice, James, 9-14-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Bice, James M., 8-21-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 7-6-63. Released, 6-7-65.
- Bice, John T., 12-1-61—Coosa Co., Ala.: Transferred from Company B, 6th Alabama Infantry. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort McHenry Prison, Md., 7-4-63. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 7-12-63. Released from Point Lookout Prison, 6-14-65.
- Bice, William J., 8-28-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of Bristow Station, 10-14-63. Detailed to Brigade Hospital. Captured near Burkeville, Va., 4-6-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Released, 6-9-65.
- Blackman, Jonah, 5-10-64—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript.

- Bosworth, M. F., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Is supposed to have joined C. S. A. Cavalry, Army of Tennessee.
- Bouchelle, Joseph A., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 6-15-61.
- Bousson, David, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Is supposed to have joined a cavalry unit in C. S. Army.
- Bowden, John W., 8-27-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Detailed at Wagoner.
- Bracken, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Brinson, Hiram H., 7-14-64—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Captured n.d. Released from Libby Prison, Richmond. n.d.
- Brooks, Anderson B., 4-11-64—Talladega, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness, 12-24-65, at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Brown, David, 8-28-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at Petersburg, 6-22-64.
- Brown, Henry C., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.
- Brown, Stephen, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.
- Bryan, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.
- Burnett, William A., 8-7-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Captured at battle of Gettysburg.
- Bynam, Robert, 6-3-64—Conscript. Transferred to Harris' Mississippi Brigade.
- Cain, J. Berry, 8-22-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at skirmish of Mine Run, 10-30-63. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63.
- Cameron, James, His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1864.
- Cameron, William, 8-27-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Sick throughout most of war.
- Canavan, Patrick, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Detached as Wagonmaster for remainder of the war.
- Cannon, William J., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.

- Cattleton, William: His name appears on a register of Seminary Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., as returned to duty, 12-17-61.
- Cavanaugh, William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company to join C. S. Navy.
- Cenen, P. C.: His name appears on a record of prisoners of war paroled at Richmond, Va., 4-7-65.
- Clement, Joseph, 6-3-64—Gaines' Mill, Va.: Conscript. Received sick furlough and failed to return.
- Coffee, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability.
- Colburn, George W., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Corporal. Deserted his Company. Joined the 51st Alabama Regiment of Cavalry, Army of Tennessee.
- Coleman, W. J., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 9-20-62.
- Cocper, John H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Sergeant. Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.
- Costello, Joseph, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Cox, T.: Assigned to the Commissary Department, Camp Lee, Va.
- Crooks, Samuel B., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted; caught while attempting to go North, and drummed out of the service.
- Cutts, James M., 8-30-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 7-31-63. Killed at battle of Hanover Junction, 5-24-64.
- Daley, Robert T., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 2nd Corporal. 1st Sergeant 1-20-63. Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Paroled or exchanged, 3-14-65.
- Deaton, John H., 1-18-62—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant n.d. Name placed on Roll of Honor following battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg. Captured during retreat from battle near Cashtown, Pa. Subsequently took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- DeHaven, Robert, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Devaney, William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Corporal. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.

- Diamond, Edward: His name appears on a record of reenlistment, 7-7-62.
- Diamond, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Cold Harbor, 6-64.
- Donelly (Doneley), John: Deserted his Company. Returned to duty. Died of illness, 7-20-63, near Gettysburg, Pa.
- Doty, Joseph W., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 7-12-61. Reenlisted, but again discharged due to chronic rheumatism, 5-3-62.
- Drayman, J.: His name appears on a register of Stuart Hospital, Richmond, Va., 6-64.
- Durden, John W., 10-31-64—Greenville, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Dyers, Thomas, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Remained in the service of C. S. A.
- Eddins, (Eddens), Joseph, 9-10-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness, 2-18-63.
- Ellis, J. S.: Captured in hospital at end of war, 4-3-65.
- Embry, David, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Drummed out of service for desertion.
- Engle, Charles: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Estes, W.: Conscript. His name appears on a register of Way Hospital, Meridian, Miss., 2-3-65.
- Fagan, William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Fahy, John, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. Deserted to the enemy, 5-21-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Finley, Edgar S., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to the Mississippi Legion, 6-9-61.
- Fitzgerald, Michael, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Fitzpatrick, Bernard, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Subsequently died in Lynchburg, Va.
- Frazer, J. F.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Demopolis, Ala., 6-21-65.
- Fulmer, Calvin G., Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of Totopotomoy Creek, 6-1-64. Never returned to active duty. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-65.

- Gaines, H. F., 9-6-64—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gallagher, Charles, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to the C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Gates, Joseph, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 4-25-62.
- Gay, Thomas B., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison. Died at Point Lookout Prison Hospital, Md., 12-63.
- Goldsby, Jackson, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged n.d. Captured at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Exchanged 2-10-65.
- Gray, B. B.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Haas, Augustus A., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg. Hospitalized for treatment at General Hospital, Staunton, Va. Retired due to physical disability.
- Haley, Timothy, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Remained in C. S. A. service.
- Hark, A. A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as admitted wounded 10-16-63. Furloughed home the next day.
- Hart, John, 12-3-63—Montgomery, Ala.: Conscript. Captured near Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.
- Hayes, Albert, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy.
- Hayes, Timothy, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Name placed on Roll of Honor n.d. Afterwards deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 9-9-64.
- Hincher (Heucher), William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, n.d.
- Hicks, Joseph, 8-28-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of pneumonia, 2-5-63, at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Hoey, Michael, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Deserted before battle of Sharpsburg.
- Hood, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company. Joined the C. S. Navy.
- Howard, John, 3-22-64—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability.

- Hughes, Patrick, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to the C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Hurst, Thomas J., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Johnson, John J., 8-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Judah, Henry C., 8-15-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-18-64.
- Juzand, Pierre, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Released from Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 6-14-65.
- Kelly, Daniel H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Detailed as Nurse at Staunton, Va., hospital.
- Kelly, Richard, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Kennedy, William, 10-14-64—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at Chester Station, Va., 4-3-65. Released, 6-16-65.
- King, Frank, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died of illness at Stuart Hospital, Richmond, Va., 7-8-64.
- Kirkland, Abram, 8-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died of illness while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Kirkland, John S., 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently in Richmond hospitals. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Lacuntigney, Victor, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Lampson, E.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Exchanged from Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 8-13-63.
- Lawler, William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Lemblom (Lemblau), A. William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Love, William H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64. Exchanged, 11-1-64, from Point Lookout Prison, Md.
- Marnell, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Martin, Patrick, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.

- Martin, William D., 9-16-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- McCloskey, Peter, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 10-20-61.
- McCudden, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died, 9-13-62, as the result of his wounds.
- McKnight, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- McMeeken, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Mercer, J., 5-25-64—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Merriam (Marion), James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Mooney, John, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted soon after arrival of Company in Richmond, Va.
- Moore, Edward, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 5th Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged or given wounded parole. Retired due to physical disability, 7-24-64.
- Moore, James M., 8-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Deserted at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Morris, J.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as admitted as patient, 2-25-63.
- O'Neal (O'Neil), Jessie O., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- O'Neal (O'Neil), John, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- O'Neal (O'Neil), Thomas, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at siege of Yorktown, 4-62.
- Padgett, Lucas, 9-15-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63. Severely wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64.
- Page, James W., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged 8-10-61.
- Perkins, John, 8-6-64—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Phillips, Benjamin H., 9-15-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala., Conscript. Killed, possibly at battle of Gettysburg.
- Prim, James H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at Yorktown, Va. Man was in jail on charge of attempted murder and broke jail.
- Reed, H. J., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted 3-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Reid, James, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Rice, W. J.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as wounded and furloughed, 10-31-63.
- Richards, Peter, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 8-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Rodriguez, Philip, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Retired, 6-3-64.
- Rosson, George L., 8-18-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Treated at Camp Letterman General Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa. Apparently exchanged or given wounded parole. Died of illness at General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 4-17-64.
- Rudd, Charles: Detached. No other information.
- Ryan, Thomas S., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Ryan, Timothy: Died at General Hospital, Staunton, Va., 10-29-62.
- Shadix, Benjamin H., 9-14-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled 7-30-63.
- Sharp, Peter W., 9-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Substitute. Discharged due to old age, 2-6-64.
- Skehan, Edward, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured during the last days of the war. Transportation furnished to New York City.
- Skipper, Angus, 8-18-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Discharged due to the seriousness of his wounds.
- Smith, A.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-25-65.
- Smith, Peter, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of typhoid fever, 12-19-62.

- Snow, John A., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Corporal. Deserted his Company to join the cavalry service of C. S. A.
- Spradlin, Frank M., 8-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Stanton, Jacob, 5-8-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. May have been retired early in 1865.
- Strange, R. R.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-25-65.
- Strickland, James R., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Deserted at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Strickland, J. S.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as admitted to Chimborazo Hospital No. 5, 12-2-62.
- Summersell, John W.: Chronically ill. Hospitalized for a long time. Paroled at Farmville, Va., 4-18-65.
- Talbot, William T., 8-20-62—Montgomery, Ala.: Conscript. Absent, sick, from Company much of the time. Captured at a Richmond hospital at end of war. Paroled at Richmond, Va., 5-18-65.
- Taylor, William S., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Sergeant. Detached as telegraph operator to Secretary of War, ~~10-21-61.~~
- Teller, Joshua G., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed in battle. n.d. n.p.
- Todd, John, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Tompkins, Charles C., 9-30-64—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript. Received in Company 11-64.
- Troutman, W. A.: His name appears on a register for pay, 3-64.
- Tulbird, W. F.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.
- Unger, Solomon, 3-24-63—Fredericksburg, Va.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Never in action again.
- Van Meter, Isaac, 5-8-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Sergeant. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Vice, J. R. Jr.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Demopolis, Ala., 6-23-65.
- Wadkins, Robert O., 8-9-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Absent, sick, through most of war.
- Ward, John J., 8-9-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Released from Fort Delaware Prison,

Del., 6-14-65.

Ward, Robert J., 7-2-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Wounded at battle of White Oak Swamp Bridge, Va., 6-13-64. Retired due to disability. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-65.

Warnicker (Wanicker), William, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Regimental Drummer throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Warren, J. N.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Exchanged 2-18-65.

Weeks, John W., 8-22-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Transferred to Company A. Later deserted to the enemy.

Wells, P. Vally, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.

Westron, George H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-61.

White, William W. M., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

Westron, George H., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-61.

White, William W. M., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

Williams, J. W.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 4-15-64.

Williams, Peter, 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-10-62.

Wood, Henry C., 8-9-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Paroled 8-24-63.

Wood, Hugh A., 8-29-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Exchanged 11-1-64.

Wright, Albert E., 5-6-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 6-15-65.

Wyncoop, J. W.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-18-65.

Young, Wallace W., 4-1-62—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and joined U. S. 3rd Maryland Cavalry.

APPENDIX J

Company "F", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was raised in 1831 as an independent company, the "Greenville Guards", of the Alabama State Militia in Greenville, Butler County, Alabama. In late January, 1861, it was mustered into the Army of Alabama and served at Pensacola, Florida. Upon returning to Greenville it was reorganized May 21, 1861. It was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861.

OFFICERS

Colonel Hilary A. Herbert: Captain, 5-21-61. Promoted to Major of the Regiment, 5-5-62. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Promoted to Lt. Col. of the Regiment. Received Regimental compliment for gallantry at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Acting Colonel, 5-3-63. Commended for his zeal in action at battle of Gettysburg. Seriously wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Promoted to Colonel and retired. 11-2-64.

Captain Lewis A. Livingston: 1st Lt., 5-21-61. Captain, 5-5-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Died as the result of his wounds at Camp Letterman U. S. A. Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa., 9-27-63.

Captain Ira W. Stott: 2nd Lt., 5-21-61. 1st Lt., 5-5-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Captain, 9-28-63. Retired, 10-19-64, due to physical disability caused by his wounds. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 6-9-65.

Captain George Hatch: Private, 5-21-61. Received Regimental compliment for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg, 8-17-62, and promoted to 2nd Lt., 9-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Apparently paroled or exchanged. Captain, 10-19-64. Captured again (place not known). Ordered to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 3-14-65.

2nd Lt. David McKee: 5-21-61 to 3-6-62. Resigned to form another Company in Alabama.

2nd Lt. W. H. A. Lane: 1st Sergeant, 5-21-61. 2nd Lt., 4-22-62. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

2nd Lt., Thomas A. Kelley: Private, 5-21-61. 2nd Lt., 5-5-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor at battle of Salem

Church, 5-3-63. He was either captured or surrendered during the last month of the war. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 4-8-65. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia, Pa.

2nd Lt. D. B. Thornton: Private, 5-21-61. Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 2nd Lt., 1-15-63. Killed on Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.

2nd Lt. J. G. Parsons: Private, 5-21-61. Sergeant, 1863. 2nd Lt., 9-7-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Enlisted Ranks

Anderson, Ezekial, 8-22-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured in engagement at High Bridge, Appomattox River, Va., 4-6-65. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md., 6-9-65.

Andrews, J. F., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness 7-22-61.

Andrews, G. D.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty 1-2-63.

Baldwin, James A., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Detailed as Carpenter. No other information.

Barefield, Charles, 10-11-62—Macon Co. Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

Barnett, W. F., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Williamsburg, Va., 5-5-62.

Bayzer, T. W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness at Baptist Church Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 3-13-62.

Benbow, Adam J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

Bozeman, C., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

Brogan, Patrick, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

Buell, David, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Quartermaster. Promoted to Ordnance Sergeant of Regiment 11-8-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Bussey, D. J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: 4th Sergeant. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-5-61.

Carr, H. C.: Captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-15-65.

Chavers, G. W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy. n.d.

Coleman, J. R., 6-8-63—Talladega, Ala.: Conscript. With Company through 1864.

- Cook, W. J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 10-5-63.
- Cox, Robert: Detached 8-31-62.
- Crawford, J. J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-31-61.
- Croft, Edward D., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-3-61.
- Crowder, H. A., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: His name appears on an early roster of the Company after its reorganization.
- Crowder, T. G., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: His name appears on an early roster of the Company after its reorganization.
- Curb, A. C.: Captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Danavan, J. T.: Died of illness at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-21-62.
- Davis, W. S., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Detailed to duty as Carpenter, 9-13-61.
- Dee, G. W.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.
- Demins, M.: His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 4, as transferred to Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-8-63.
- Dixon, Abraham (Abram), 8-8-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Present throughout remainder of the war.
- Doswell, F., 8-29-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Dunn, H., 5-20-62—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died of illness, 12-6-62.
- Dunn, Martin, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 10-1-63.
- Dunn, John W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Detailed as Nurse in hospital. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Earnest, J. S., 8-1-62—Greenville, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Released 6-7-65.
- Garner, W. L., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Corporal. Wounded sometimes in 1864. Captured at Farmville, Va., 4-6-65.
- Gallaway, G. W.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Gambell, S.: His name appears on a register of General Hos-

pital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as transfered to Howard's Grove Hospital, 7-10-64.

Garner, R. H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-28-62.

Glancy, J. R.: Sergeant. His name appears on a list of paroled prisoners of war at Farmville, Va., 4-21-65.

Gentry, R. H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Retired due to physical disability, 9-20-63.

Gore, C. A., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to U. S. Convalescent Hospital, Fort Wood, Bedloe Island, New York Harbor. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md. n.d. Retired 9-26-64.

Gore, William J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness, 5-16-62.

Hall, George W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Teamster. Died of illness, 5-10-62.

Hatch, F.: Sergeant. May not have proceeded to Richmond with Company.

Hawkins, Thomas: His name appears on a register of General Hospital, No. 9, Richmond, Va., as transfered to Camp Winder Hospital, 5-8-63.

Haynes, William J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Captured at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-11-64. Joined U. S. service.

Headley, J. M., 3-31-62—Troy, Ala.: Conscript. Transfered from Company G, 6th Alabama Regiment. Deserted to the enemy 9-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.

Henderson, O. S., 8-8-62—Wilcox Co., Ala.: Conscript. Ill frequently in Richmond hospitals.

Hester, Samuel D., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 11-8-61.

Holly, William B.: His name appears on a report of 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., as dying on 12-21-62.

Holyday, D. G.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war captured in and about Confederate hospitals in Richmond, Va., 4-3-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 7-31-65.

Howard, William H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Chronically ill.

- Dropped from the roll of the Company. Subsequently died. n.d.
- Ingram (Ingraham), J. L., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died of illness while prisoner of war at Fort Delaware, Del., 1-22-64.
- Johnson, H. V., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Jones, A.: Transferred to Company F, 10-8-63. Sent off sick at Bristoe Station, 10-15-63. Returned to duty 2-19-64.
- Jones, B. M., 11-11-62—Macon, Ala.: Conscript. Chronically ill. Dropped from the roll of the Company. Died of illness 5-16-63.
- Kelly, Henry H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Kelly, Nathaniel G., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died 6-62. No other information.
- Kelly, T., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Armorer.
- King, J. T., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Hospitalized 5-12-62. No additional information.
- Land, John D., 8-6-62—Tallapoosa, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at engagement at High Bridge, Appomattox River, Va., 4-6-65. Released, 6-6-65, from Point Lookout Prison, Md.
- Lane, R. W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness at General Hospital, Greenville, Ala., 11-6-62.
- Lang, T. G., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Williamsburg, Va., 5-5-62. Paroled and discharged as infirm, 6-2-63.
- Lee, George W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: 4th Corporal. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.
- Lee, Joseph M., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Hospitalized with pneumonia at C. S. A. General Hospital, Danville, Va., 9-9-62.
- Livingston, A.: His name appears on a register of approved furloughs of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., 11-29-62.
- Loftis, J. M. (F.), 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged, 2-6-62, apparently due to chronic illness.

- Long, John C.: His name appears on a register of killed or wounded.
- McCaskill, W. C., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: 3rd Sergeant. Discharged due to physical disability, 4-18-62.
- McCool, John, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-4-61.
- McDonald (McDaniel), James P., 8-8-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 11-1-64.
- McFay, John, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-4-61.
- McFarland, John: Captured near Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- McGavin, Frank: His name appears on a register of Seminary Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 12-12-61.
- McLendon, J. J., 8-8-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently. Saw little active service except guard duty. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Mighen, M., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with original Company. May not have gone to Richmond.
- Miller, C., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with original Company 7-62.
- Mills, L., 8-30-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Milner, E. L., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63, while detailed as Hospital Steward to care for Confederate wounded. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- Milner, J. B., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: 1st Corporal. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Wounded near Petersburg, Va., 10-11-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Mims, W. W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 1-23-62.
- Moore, J. F., 8-11-62—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md., 2-18-65.
- Morris, L. A.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1863.
- Morris, Richard R., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with Company through most of the war. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-29-65.

- Mullins, G. T., 5-1-64—Macon Co., Ala.: Dropped from the roll too small and too young for field service.
- Murphy, E. S.: His name appears on a payroll list, 8-31-62.
- Murray, J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Neagle (Nagle), John 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and joined the 1st Connecticut Cavalry.
- Norman, James T., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Palmer, W. W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died 6-10-62. No additional information.
- Perry, Edward: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- Purifoy, M. C., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Discharged due to tuberculosis, 2-11-62.
- Ragsdale, L. P., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Sergeant 1863. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Appointed Ensign of the Regiment 4-8-64. Mentioned for bravery at Gettysburg.
- Reeves, George, 8-15-63—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Apparently given wounded parole. Hospitalized at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-17-64.
- Richardson, John: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62.
- Riley, Martin S., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with Company through most of war.
- Rollo, (Roller), J. J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Ross, Asa, 5-21-61—Greenville, Ala.: 2nd Sergeant. Seriously wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Sanson, Thomas, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62.
- Sapp, F (T). M., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Died at DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor, 9-63.
- Sapp, William S., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died 6-4-61.

- Savage, Robert, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness, 1862.
- Searcy, J. R., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: 3rd Corporal. Name placed on Roll of Honor for his actions at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Promoted to Sergeant 1864. Captured at Farmville, Va., 4-11-65. Paroled at Farmville.
- Sessions, J. J., 10-16-62—Wilcox Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 10-22-63. Exchanged 4-27-74. Received further treatment at General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-8-64.
- Shaw, E. J., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Corporal. Musician. Died of illness at South Carolina Hospital, Petersburg, Va., 6-25-62.
- Shoemake, J., 8-8-62—Autauga, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted 3-65.
- Sidners, J. H.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-6-63.
- Smith, C. O.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-18-65.
- Smith, H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Woodcutter for the Regiment. Mortally wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Smith, J. J., n. d.—Clopton, Ala.: Conscript. Name appears on the register of two hospitals in Richmond, Va., 5-8-64 and 8-20-64.
- Smith, Seaborn, 8-29-62—Henry Co., Ala.: His name is entered as patient at Howard's Grove General Hospital, 8-31-63. Apparently never returned to duty.
- Smith, S. H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with original Company.
- Smitherman, J.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Smoke, J. L., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with original Company. No record of having proceeded to Richmond with Company.
- Spears, J. C., 8-10-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Transferred from Company C, 1-20-64. Wounded in some battle. n.d. n.p.
- Spears, J. G., 3-16-64—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness, 6-17-64.
- Stephens, John P., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Stevens, J. H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Detached and detailed as Teamster in Division Ordnance Train, 8-8-63.

- Stott, Stephen W., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Strickland, A., 8-12-62—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at Farmville, Va., 4-6-65. Paroled from Newport News, Va.
- Stusom, Thomas: His name appears on a register of Camp Winder General Hospital No. 2, as furloughed 9-24-62.
- Swint, Joseph, 8-8-62—Tallapoosa, Ala.: Conscript. Assigned to Division Ordnance Train.
- Tefepaugh, H. P., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Captured at Farmville, Va., 4-6-65. Sent to Newport News, Va. Signed oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. 6-24-65.
- Thomas, Leroy, 8-12-62—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at Orange C. H. Hospital, Va., 8-19-64.
- Thornton, J. A., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Given wounded parole 8-24-63.
- Tisdale, Charles C., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died of illness at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-16-62.
- Trice, L. S., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Present with Company through 8-61.
- Turner, B.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864.
- Wallace, William F., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor, for treatment.
- Walters, John, 10-20-62—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Treated at Letterman General Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa. Transferred to Fort McHenry Prison, Md. n.d. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 7-21-64. Exchanged 2-18-65
- Ward, Clinton L., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Died of illness at General Hospital No. 13, Richmond, Va., 7-10-62.
- Ware, James, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62, sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg 9-17-62.
- Whitaker, J., 8-22-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Present with Company through 2-64.

- Wright, John, 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Musician. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Hospitalized at U. S. A. General Hospital, Chester, Pa., 7-9-63. Apparently given wounded parole for he appears as a patient at Episcopal Christ Church Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 8-20-63, and Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-10-64, where an arm was amputated.
- William, W.: Died of illness 12-30-62.
- Willis, L. C.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-25-65.
- Wilner, J. B.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1863.
- Wilson, S. T., 8-9-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 3-28-65.
- Wimbush, J. H., 5-20-61—Greenville, Ala.: Wagoner. Deserted or surrendered 4-65. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia, Pa.
- Woodruff, Luther: His name appears on a record of prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, Ill., as captured at Sand Mountain, Ala., 7-18-64. Joined 6th U. S. Volunteer Cavalry, 4-3-65.
- Wooten, J. T.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-23-64.
- Wright, William, 8-20-62—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Chronically ill at Camp Winder General Hospital, Richmond, Va., from 4-30-63 until dropped from the roll of the Company.

APPENDIX K

Company "G", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company, made up mostly of the German population of Mobile, was raised in 1848 as an independent Company (**German Fusiliers**) in Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama, and was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861.

OFFICERS

Lt. Col. John P. Emrich: Captain, 5-25-61. Promoted to Major of the Regiment, 6-16-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Lt. Col., 11-2-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Captain Anthony Kohler (Kuehler): 1st Lt., 5-21-61. Captain, 6-16-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 3-14-65.

1st Lt. Alexander Shedden: Sergeant, 5-25-61. 1st Lt., 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio.

2nd Lt. Drury Thompson: 5-25-61 to 6-12-62. Resigned due to physical disability.

2nd Lt. Adam Hippler: 5-25-61 to 10-19-61. Resigned.

2nd Lt. August Jansen: Private, 5-25-61. 2nd Lt., 10-29-61. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

2nd Lt. Charles F. Walker (Wacker): Corporal, 5-21-61. 1st Lt., 10-12-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio, 7-27-63. Released 6-12-65.

2nd Lt. George Schwarz: Sergeant, 5-25-61. 1st Lt., 10-12-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor.

2nd Lt. B. E. Gould: Private, 5-21-61. 2nd Lt., 12-23-63. Received Regimental compliment for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Enlisted Ranks

Ahern, Patrick, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present on muster roll throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Ackridge, Joseph, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: His name appears on a register of discharged soldiers, 7-28-62.
- Anderson, Alexander, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Hospitalized 8-61. No other information.
- Arnfeldt (Arnfield), Thomas, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Forage Master to Quartermaster Dept. Discharged, 1-22-62.
- Arnstein, H.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Barkman, John T., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mills, 6-27-62.
- Barrier, Jacob: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 18, Richmond, Va., as discharged from the service, 12-28-61.
- Bauer, Charles: Sergeant. Present with Company until early 1862.
- Bauman, F.: Corporal. Present with Company in 1862.
- Benefield, J.: Died of illness at Chimborazo Hospital No. 4, Richmond, Va., 3-3-63.
- Berger, Jacob: His name appears on a register of discharged soldiers, 12-31-61.
- Blumenfield, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, 8-31-61.
- Braun, J.: Sergeant. His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Braun, W.: Sergeant. His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Broun, Andrew: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Broun (Brown), Peter, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 7-14-63, near Williamsport, Md., during retreat from battle of Gettysburg. Joined U. S. service, 1-24-64.
- Broun (Brown), William, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 3rd Sergeant. Deserted at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Bush, C. G., 8-27-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Wounded 9-18-64.
- Callaway, B. C., 8-7-62—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded 9-64.
- Cannon, R. J.: Died of illness, 12-21-62.
- Caskell, J. B. McCoy: His name appears on a record of Lincoln U. S. A. General Hospital, Washington, D.C., as patient, 6-64.

- Castello, James, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Chapman, W. S., 8-22-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Died of typhoid fever at Elmira Prison, N. Y., 8-16-64.
- Clark, C. A., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 8-22-63.
- Clark, H.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-14-65.
- Collins, Benjamin, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Daubach, John H., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Deeley, John H., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died in a Richmond hospital, 7-2-62.
- Delth, W.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Donavan, Joseph: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Egger, Francis, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of typhoid fever at Chimborazo Hospital No. 1, Richmond, Va., 6-7-62.
- Elliott, Toler: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged 3-64.
- Evans, W. H.: Conscript. Hospitalized at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-23-64.
- Evans, W. R.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1864.
- Failar (Faeler), Jerome, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Finley, T. J., 8-15-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Present through 1864. His name appears on a list of Confederate soldiers paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-20-65.
- Fisher, John: Corporal. Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Foster, William M., 9-2-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Franz, Peter C., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Provost Guard. Detailed as Carpenter, 2-24-62.
- Frasier, William: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-17-62.

- Frische, William, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Assigned to duty at various military hospitals in the Richmond, Va., Area.
- Galloway, B. C.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1863.
- Ganbell, S.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 7-9-64.
- Gealer, S.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Gengenbach, Gottlieb (Gingenbach), 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-23-61.
- Gensler (Gunsler), Samuel, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detached to hospital duty.
- Gilchrist, John, 5-23-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 7-16-64.
- Gilfoy, T.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Godwin, James P.: Captured 5-16-64. Enlisted in U. S. Army, 6-10-64.
- Goldsmith, Robert (Goldschmidt), 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 5-10-65.
- Gottsmanshausen, Gustave, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed to duty as a Butcher.
- Graham, J. L., 7-4-64—Jefferson Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Graham, W.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1864.
- Grandberry, C. F., 8-5-62—Henry Co., Ala.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General, Richmond, Va., in mid 1864.
- Grangentes, G.: His name appears on a record of hospitalization at Episcopal Church Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 12-17-61.
- Gratix, Joseph, 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., and paroled 2-18-65.
- Grove, D. J.: Captured at a Richmond hospital, 4-3-65. Released 4-25-65.
- Gunsler, S.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Hachmeyer, Heinrich (Hachmeir), 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

- Hackman, J.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Hamilton, J. L.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63.
- Hancock, N.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 2-18-64.
- Harrison, John, 8-22-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Wounded and hospitalized, 10-8-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hanlein (Haelein), Frank, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Sergeant, 6-30-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hauck, Nicholas, 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician. Sergeant, 1864.
- Hauersberger, Jacob (Hauersbeurger), 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-22-62.
- Henrich, Sebastian, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed to Ambulance Corps.
- Henry, S.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 3-28-64.
- Hern, P. A.: His name appears on a register of Chimborazo General Hospital No. 4, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 6-26-63.
- Hippler, A., 7-3-64—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hippler, Charles Jr., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Jensen (Johnson), Arthur, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-12-62.
- Keefe, Thomas, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Keinle, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Given wounded parole. Treated in a Mobile hospital. Apparently disabled.
- Kennedy, T.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 3-28-64.
- Kidd, William, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as clerk in Quartermaster Dept. Discharged due to physical disability, 2-28-62.
- Kiefer, Peter, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.

- King, S. J., 8-29-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63. Exchanged, 11-11-64. Paroled, 5-8-65.
- Klein (Kline), Ferdinand, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician.
- Krause, August, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Kriebel, F., 2-13-62: Enlisted under a false name, 2-13-62. Was apprehended for murder the next day.
- Kruse, Henry, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged, 8-11-63, at Camp Lee, Va.
- Lauder, George, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Lee, John H., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Court Martialled 8-14-62.
- Lohide (Loheide), John C.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Given wounded parole and treated in a Richmond hospital. Discharged due to physical disability, 9-10-64.
- Lowenfeld, Hammond (Lohenfeldt), 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala. Present with original Company.
- Manning, W. J., 9-8-62—Chambers, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Mattellac, W. E.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 2-2-63.
- McCaskill, A., 10-12-62—Wilcox Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of pneumonia at General Hospital No. 9, Lynchburg, Va., 5-12-64.
- McCaskill, W. E., 10-12-62—Wilcox Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-10-64. Sent to Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D. C. Later transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released, 6-14-65.
- McCosker, Mathias J. (McCasker), 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- McDonald, J. A.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-19-65.
- McGauren, J. His name appears on an early roll of the Company.

- McGregor, John J., 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present with original Company.
- Meier, G.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Meyers, Charles, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Meyers (Myers), John, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Given wounded parole, 8-24-63.
- Muller (Miller), Frederick, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Muller (Miller), Jacob, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Discharged due to physical disability, 1-6-62.
- Moss, J. J., 8-25-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Seriously wounded at battle of Salem Church, Va., 5-3-63. Died in a Richmond hospital, 6-14-63.
- Moss, J. L., 8-23-62—Dale Co., Ala., Deserted while a patient at Chimborazo General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 7-14-63.
- Murray, J.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Naile, W. B., 8-23-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Nelson, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released, 5-10-65.
- Obering, E. F., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness at Richmond, Va., 1-2-62.
- Partridge, H. H., 8-29-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Missing at battle of Gettysburg.
- Pearson, W. A. J.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Paroled from DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor, 9-27-63. Severely wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.
- Pfledger, Philip, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Permanently disabled.
- Poland, William, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to 45th Regiment Georgia Volunteers, 8-27-63.
- Prinz, Charles, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Burgess' Mill, 10-27-64.
- Ransey, A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 9-7-64.
- Redlick, J.: Present with Company 12-31-61 to 2-28-62.

- Remus, Peter, 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Detached to Division Pioneer Corps, 12-63.
- Reynolds, J. R.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Treated in U. S. hospital at Gettysburg, Pa.
- Roach, C. L.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 3-5-64.
- Roberts, John, 5-21-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present with Company only until 8-61.
- Roberts, William E., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged, 10-27-62. Man was not a citizen of the Confederacy or of the U. S. A.
- Robertson, Lewis J., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Record of hospitalization 5-62.
- Roh, Charles L., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Received Regimental Honors for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Sergeant, 4-1-64.
- Rothschild, A., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Corporal, 1863. Died 7-17-63, of wounds received at battle of Gettysburg. Cited for conspicuous bravery during the battle.
- Ryales, J., 8-14-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Record of hospitalization at Richmond, Va., in April and May, 1864.
- Schaaf, Philip, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died while in service.
- Scharf, Henry, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Deserted at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 3-29-65.
- Schmidt, Frederick, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company. His name appears on a register of payment as 1st Sergeant, 6-13-62.
- Schmidt, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Teamster for the Medical Department through 1864.
- Schneider, August, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Regimental Butcher. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Schneider, George: His name appears on a register of payment, 6-17-62.
- Schneider, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Record of hospitalization and return to duty, 1-62.
- Schultz, August, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

- Shreve, S.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Shrides, A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 2-5-64.
- Silenger, C. D.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as furloughed for 40 days, 9-28-64.
- Smith, H. W., 8-24-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 10-27-63. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 2-18-65. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 6-5-65.
- Smith, James, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-20-64. Captured at Tuskegee, Ala., 4-15-65. Sent to Macon, Ga., prison, 4-23-65.
- Smith (Schmidt), Peter, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Name placed on Roll Of Honor for gallantry at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Must have been given wounded parole for his name appears on the register of the Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 10-31-63. Furloughed to Mobile, Ala. subsequently died of illness.
- Smith, S. T., 8-28-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Apparently given a wounded parole. Sent home as disabled.
- Spikes, J. S., 8-23-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort McHenry Prison, Md. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., n.d. Given wounded parole and sent to hospital at Lynchburg, Va. Received wounded furlough home to Newton, Ala. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Steidel, Ferdinand, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Stevenson, C. H.: His name appears on an early roll of the Company.
- Stringfellow, Frank, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Joined U. S. 3rd Maryland Cavalry.

- Stringfellow, James, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Treated in Richmond, Va., and Mobile, Ala., hospitals. Later detailed to hospital duty.
- Stumm, Gustave A., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Swartz, H.: His name appears on a register of payment, 7-7-62.
- Taylor, James A.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 7-31-63. Name appears on a register of Episcopal Church Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., as returned to duty, 9-2-63.
- Taylor, John, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Sergeant, 1863. 2nd Sergeant, 4-1-63. 1st Sergeant, 1-9-64. Retired due to physical disability caused by wounds.
- Taylor, Neal, 10-25-63—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized most of the time after reporting to Company.
- Thomas, William: Died of illness at General Hospital No. 1, Lynchburg, Va., 6-16-63.
- Till, James, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died due to chronic illness, 3-22-62.
- Turner, H. R., 8-14-62—Tallapoosa, Ala.: Conscript. Present with Company, 10-63.
- Turner, R.: Deserted, 4-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Turner, R. M., 8-14-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Deep Bottom, Va., 8-16-64.
- Walker, S.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 3rd quarter of 1864.
- Weiser, Lewis, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Only present with Company through 8-61.
- White, J. B., 8-15-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 6-15-63.
- Wickham, James C., 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 5-9-63.
- Williams, J. W., 8-15-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died of pneumonia at General Hospital No. 1, Richmond, Va., 4-11-63.
- Wilson, Charles, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 4-2-62.
- Wilson, Robert L.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

Wilson, Samuel, 5-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Retired, 10-20-64, due to physical disability from wounds received in action. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 6-17-65.

APPENDIX L

Company "H", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company was reorganized and raised on May 17, 1861, at Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama, as the "**Independent Scouts**", and was mustered in C. S. A. service on June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

OFFICERS

Captain William F. Cleveland, Jr.: 5-18-61 to 10-24-62. Resigned.

Captain William W. Mordecai: 2nd Lt., 5-18-61. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. 1st Lt., 6-1-62. Captain, 10-24-62. Commended as conspicuous for gallantry and bravery at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded near Petersburg, Va., 8-21-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

1st Lt. Joshua Kennedy: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.

1st Lt. Robert R. Scott: 1st Sergeant. 2nd Lt., 10-30-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 1st Lt., 10-24-62. Died, 7-22-63, at Letterman U. S. A. Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa., from wounds received at battle of Gettysburg. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.

1st Lt. Charles R. Rice: 3rd Sergeant. 2nd Lt., 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Commended as conspicuous for gallantry and bravery at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Johnson's Island Prison, Ohio. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., for exchange, 3-14-65.

2nd Lt. John D. Collier: 5-18-61 to 10-21-61. Resigned. Subsequently died of illness.

2nd Lt. William H. Dunn: 1st Corporal. Ordnance Sergeant, 5-1-62. 2nd Lt., 10-24-62. Assistant Quartermaster (Captain) of the Regiment, 2-17-64 to 6-14-64.

Enlisted Ranks

Anderson, George, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy in 1863.

- Austill, J. W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 5th Sergeant. Discharged due to physical disability, 10-7-61.
- Babbitt, C. H.: His name appears on a list of the Company printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Baker, C. L., 8-15-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Bamick, C. K.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., 7-4-64.
- Barkloo, Henry P., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died, 7-19-62, from wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Batton, Thomas R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Ward Master in Lynchburg, Va., hospital. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Beer, Joseph, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 1-63.
- Berwick, W., 8-27-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died, 7-15-64, at Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., from wounds received at battle of Ream's Station, 6-29-64.
- Blackman, J. W., 8-12-62—Macon Co., Ala.: Conscript. Present through most of the war.
- Blake, E. V.: His name appears on a list of the Company printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10
- Blount, B. B., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed in a skirmish at Wynne's Mill, near Yorktown, Va., being the first man killed in action from Company "H".
- Brannan, J. E., 8-27-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor.
- Brannan, J. W., 8-27-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Treated at Letterman U. S. Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 7-20-64. Corporal, 7-20-65.
- Brown, James C.: 3rd Sergeant.
- Buck, Henry W., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-24-63. Exchanged, 5-3-64. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

- Burns, James, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: He appears to have been a deserter from a Louisiana Zouaves battery.
- Cain, G. W., 9-4-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Cain, Peter: His name appears on a list of the Company printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Carlen, M., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed to Ambulance Corps. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Carpenter, E. E., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 2-62.
- Cashin, John, 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness at West Point, Va., 4-28-62.
- Cavanaugh, B., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Chason, Reuben, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died, 7-13-62, from wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Chastang, Harrison, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Chism, J. W., 10-23-62—Talladega, Ala.: Conscript. Deserted and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Clark, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Clark, S. W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Corporal, 10-1-62. Sergeant, 2-1-63. Wounded at battle of Totopotomoy Creek, 6-1-64. A faithful soldier.
- Cobini, Eugene A., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Captured at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Exchanged the same day. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Must have been exchanged again, for he was present at battle of the Petersburg Crater.

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- Collins, Charles, 1-1-63—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Joined the 3rd Maryland Cavalry.

- Commerce, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Slightly wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Transferred to C. S. Navy, 1-63.
- Cock, B. F., 8-10-62—Camp Watts, Ala. Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. A good soldier.
- Coon (Coone), John, 6-18-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died while a prisoner of war at U. S. A. Hospital, Chester, Pa.
- Couch, Henry V., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to being a minor.
- Crassin, Fernando A.: Conscript. Captured, 4-6-65. Released from Point Lookout Prison, Md., 6-14-65.
- Creech (Creach), A. C., 9-5-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 10-64.
- Croughan, Patrick, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Failed to return from wounded furlough.
- Crutch, E. C.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Cutchins, J., 9-5-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Died from wounds received at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-12-64.
- Daughdrill, John L., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to the 3rd Alabama Regiment, 6-8-62.

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- Davis, William J., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 10-6-62. Sergeant, 2-1-63. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. A faithful soldier.
- Davis, J. T., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 8-62.
- Davis, W. J. R., 3-12-62—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 7-62.
- Deal, L., 8-20-62—Dale Co., Ala.: Conscript. Mortally wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Dean, Thomas R., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-8-61.
- Deith, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 11-4-61.

- Donald, T. J., 5-25-64—Choctaw Co., Ala.: Conscript.
- Denovan, W. G., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured straggling during first Maryland campaign. Set free, 10-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Exchanged, n.d. Deserted and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Dunn, D. W.: His name appears on a register of an hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-5-63.
- Dupieu, William: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Fair, John: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Faulkner, D. T.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Ferguson, George W., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-61.
- Finton, John W., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Promoted to Corporal, 5-5-63. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Fiske, Charles E., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal. Died of illness at Bigelow Mill, Va., 10-61.
- Flinn, Andrew: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Fowler, G. H.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Franklin, O.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-20-65.
- Frederickson, George: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Item, 4-26-10.
- Gardner, M.: His name appears on a receipt roll for commutation of rations on furlough, 7-15-62.

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- Gill, G. W., 8-6-62—Coosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Wounded on Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-23-64.
- Gill, N. H.: His name appears on a record for pay and furlough in April, 1864.
- Goodson, David, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Goodman, J. A., 5-16-64—Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Conscript. Present with Company during the last few months of the war.

- Gore, James M., 6-6-64—Jefferson Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Govini, E. A.: Conscript. Hospitalized at Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-11-64.
- Graham, J. (Jesse) A., 5-25-64—Choctaw Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gray, M. M., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Ordnance Department, 8-61.
- Griffin, F. M., 5-10-64—Centerville, Va.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64. Died of illness, 6-3-65, while a prisoner at Point Lookout Prison, Md.
- Hanse (Hause), Philip, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured following the battle of Sharpsburg, 9-10-62. Paroled in the field. Detailed to C. S. Ordnance Department, 12-63.
- Harrel, C. R.: Sergeant. His name appears on a register of the General Hospital, Petersburg, Va., as returned to duty, 6-23-64.
- Harwell, C. R., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 5-5-63. Sergeant, 3-1-64. Wounded on Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64.
- Harwell, William R., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 3-1-64. Mortally wounded near Petersburg, Va., 6-27-64.
- Hastings, J.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Hawkins, C.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Herbert, John, 3-14-62—Mobile, Ala.: Volunteer recruit. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- Hilf, Samuel: 2nd Sergeant. Record of reenlistment, n.d.
- Hill, James, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted, 6-1-62, at battle of Seven Pines.
- Hilton, William, 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Hingston, Solan W., 2-16-63—Talladega, Ala.: Transferred to the 14th Alabama Infantry Regiment.
- Holland, Thomas: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Holley, R.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.

- Howell, A., 8-20-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died of smallpox while a prisoner of war, 11-25-63.
- Humes, H. C.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 11-15-64.
- Hunt, Felix M., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Promoted to Regimental Commissary Sergeant, 6-2-62. Captured at High Bridge, Appomattox River, Va., 4-6-65. Paroled, 6-13-65.
- Hursey, G. A., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 2-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63. Died, 11-14-63.
- Jackson, Charles, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Failed to return from furlough home, 2-63. He is thought to have joined the C. S. Navy at Mobile.
- Jackson, J. A.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Jackson, W. O., 8-27-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Treated at Letterman U. S. A. Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa. Exchanged, 1-1-64. Severely wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.
- James, C. S.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Jones, J. J., Jr., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Orderly for Colonel John A. Winston. Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Kelley, S. A.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., as furloughed, 12-13-64.
- Kelly, John: His name appears on a voucher for pay, 1-22-62.
- Kennedy, Isaac, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Kessell, George: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Krassin, F. August, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Detailed as Ambulance Driver. Captured at High Bridge, Appomattox River, Va., 4-6-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Released, 6-14-65.
- Krueger, Charles: 1st Sergeant. Record of receiving pay in 1861-62.

- Leathers, A., 8-7-61—Auburn, Ala.: Transferred from 14th Alabama Infantry Regiment. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Lee, W. G.: His name appears on a list printed by the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Leighton, William: His name appears on a list printed by the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Lewis, Isaac, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Paroled at Lynchburg, Va., 4-13-65.
- Lipscomb, D. W., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 6-12-64. Exchanged from Point Lookout Prison, Md., 9-30-64.
- Lofton, Van, 3-18-62—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Madden, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 2-62.
- Malone, G. F., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 2-63. Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. A faithful soldier.
- Malone, Henry R., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Sergeant. Promoted to 1st Sergeant, 7-63. Wounded at battle of Deep Bottom, Va., 8-16-64.
- Malone, J. G., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died, 7-19-62.
- Malone, M. A., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 5-5-63. Sergeant, 7-2-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Mangan, M. E., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 1-13-63.
- Mardenbrough, G. D.: 4th Corporal. His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Marks (Marxs), Henry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Mason, Charles, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- McClintock, H. G., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- McCormick, Neal, 9-8-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Wounded at battle of the wilderness, 5-6-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- McGraw, William H., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 11-1-61. Sergeant, 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- McCloud, Alex, 8-2-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-63. Died, 9-63.
- Merkle, P., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Merrill, M. J., 5-21-64—Choctaw Co., Ala.: Conscript. Deserted, 9-1-64, and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia, Pa.
- Moffatt (Moffitt), H. D., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Mortally wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died at U. S. Letterman Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa., 9-19-63.
- Myers, James: Died, 1-5-63, at General Hospital, Danville, Va.
- Newell, N. J.: Deserted and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 9-6-64.
- Newman, William, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded, 12-22-61, in skirmish at New Market Bridge, near Newport News, Va. Deserted to the enemy at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Nicholson, H. G.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 4-11-64.
- Palmer, W. W., 8-27-62—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript.
- Patten, T. H.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va. n.d.
- Patterson, G. W., 8-27-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Accidentally shot himself, 10-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Pearce (Pierce), W., 8-27-62—Barbour Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Pendergast, L. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 3, Richmond, Va., as furloughed, 9-24-62.
- Perryman, William D., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Killed at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63.
- Pike, J. K.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., 10-28-64.
- Powell, J. M.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-29-65.

- Rasimi, Joseph: 4th Sergeant. His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-20-10.
- Reagan, Patrick, 3-14-62—Mobile, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Reipschlager, Frederick C. F., (Reipschlaeger), 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at skirmish at New Market Bridge near Newport News, Va., 12-22-61. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sergeant, 10-62. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63. Killed at battle of Gurley's Farm, Weldon Railroad, 6-27-64.
- Reves, A. J.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Rich, James, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died of illness, 12-63.
- Robertson, Hubert, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-61.
- Rodgers, W. W., 5-27-64—Choctaw Co., Ala.: Conscript. Deserted and took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 12-64.
- Rooney, James, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company and joined C. S. Navy. Killed in a naval engagement in Mobile Bay n.d.
- Rossen, M. D., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Corporal. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Russ II, Sylvester, 3-12-62: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Transferred to Company I, 12-62.
- Ryals, Perry, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 6-62.
- Ryan, John, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted, 6-1-62. Recaptured, 8-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Saltonstall, W. C., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 8-61.
- Sanson, T. H., 8-10-62—Coffee Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to DeCamp Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Given wounded parole.
- Saxon (Sascon), A. H., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Returned under reprieve of President Davis. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-7-64. Deserted to the enemy near Petersburg, Va., 9-20-64.

- Saunders, James: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Sayre, C., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: Sergeant, 10-1-62. Killed at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63.
- Scatter, J. B.: His name appears on a list printed in the Mobile Daily Item, 4-26-10.
- Seawell, William A., 5-30-61—Mobile, Ala.: 2nd Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharged due to his wounds.
- Shaw, W. J.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Hartwell, Ga., 5-7-65.
- Shultz, Frederick: His name appears on a payroll receipt for the period of 12-3-62 to 2-28-63.
- Smith, A., 3-30-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Recruit by transfer. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Corporal, 3-64. Killed at battle of Reams Station, 6-29-64.
- Smith, John, 4-8-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Recruit by transfer, 12-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Smith, S. A., 5-18-65—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Deserted, 2-63.
- Smith, W., 8-17-62—Tallapoosa Co., Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 7-20-63.
- Sommill, John: His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 2, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 6-25-62.
- Spence, T. A., 10-27-62—Conecuh Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness at Gordonsville, Va., 8-4-63.
- Spencer, H. O., 6-26-64—Selma, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Deep Bottom, Va., 11-17-64. Retired, 3-15-65, as physically disabled.
- Sprowl, John, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Cold Harbor, 6-3-64.
- Stephenson, Steven, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Straid, William W.: His name appears on a register of claims of deceased Confederate soldiers, 5-2-64.
- Stroud, E. D., 9-8-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded (loss of leg) and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Discharged due to physical disability, 2-1-64.
- Stroud, William, 9-8-62—Pike Co., Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.

- Stryne, Richard: Captured during retreat from battle of Gettysburg, 7-6-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and joined the 3rd Maryland Cavalry, 9-63.
- Syphrit, John T., 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Marine Corps, 7-62.
- Tatum, William A., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Corporal, 2-64. Killed at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Terrill, G. P., 6-6-64—Elytown, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently. Saw little, if any, combat duty.
- Thompson, J. H., His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 6-20-65.
- Tilman, Berry, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of typhoid fever at C. S. A. Hospital, Danville, Va., 6-15-62.
- Titus, Benjamin, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-62. Killed at battle of Hanover Junction, 5-24-64.
- Trimmel, B. W., 8-27-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Cold Harbor, 6-7-64.
- Tuchen, G. A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 5-16-64.
- Varner, George, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Walker, D. W., 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Whalen (Whelan), James, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62. Deserted his Company and joined C. S. Navy.
- White, Leo: Corporal. His name appears on a register of payment for February, 1862.
- Wiley, Alexander, 5-18-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 1-62.
- Williams, Edward: Wounded and captured at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Exchanged, 11-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged, 3-3-64. Deserted, 8-21-64, during the Petersburg campaign.
- Williams, Peter, 6-25-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Transferred to some Cavalry unit.
- Woodward, T. B., 5-25-64—Choctaw Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Wright, Louis: 2nd Corporal. Reduced to Private for misconduct, 11-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Absent, ill, in 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 12-11-62.

Yearta, W. F.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-25-65

Zelly, G.: His name appears on a register for payment for service from 10-31-61 to 2-28-62.

APPENDIX M

Company "I", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry

This Company, made up mostly of the Irish population of Mobile, was raised on April 27, 1861, at Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama, as the "**Emerald Guards**" and was mustered in C. S. A. service on or about June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

OFFICERS

Captain Patrick Loughry: 5-20-61. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.

Captain C. P. B. Branagan (Branegan): 1st Lt., 5-20-61. Captain, 6-1-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.

Captain John McGrath: Private, 5-20-61. 2nd Lt., 11-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 1st Lt., 1-27-63. Captain, 7-3-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-11-64. Retired, 12-27-64.

Captain Andrew Quinn: Private, 5-20-61. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-11-62. 2nd Lt., 11-13-62. 1st Lt., 7-3-63. Wounded at battle of Bristoe Station, 10-14-63. Captain, 12-27-64.

1st Lt. Michael Nugent: 1st Sergeant, 5-20-61. 2nd Lt., 11-61. 1st Lt., 6-1-62. Resigned, 1-27-63, due to chronic rheumatism.

1st Lt. James Killion: Private, 5-20-61. Wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-30-62. 2nd Lt., 1-27-63. 1st Lt., 12-27-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

2nd Lt. John T. Halpin: 5-20-61 to 10-8-61. Resigned.

2nd Lt. James Flanagan: 5-20-61 to 10-8-61. Resigned.

Enlisted Ranks

Abbott, John H., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Paroled from Fort Delaware Prison, 7-30-63. Wounded at battle of Burgess' Mill, 10-27-64. Retired due to physical disability, 5-22-65. Paroled at Mobile, Ala., 6-5-65.

- Ahern (Aherne), Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Sergeant. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Captured. Exchanged from Fort Monroe, Va., 8-31-62. Discharged 3-21-63.
- Blackall, Simon, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Never returned to Company from wounded furlough to Mobile. Dropped from the roll.
- Boone, L. H., 8-19-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Apparently not exchanged.
- Brewer, George, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Williamsburg, Va., 5-5-62.
- Brown, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Burke, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Corporal. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Burke (Bourke), Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 2nd Sergeant. 1st Sergeant, 10-30-61. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Burmester, C. F., 11-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Detailed as Shoemaker. Deserted 7-6-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 7-15-64. Transportation furnished to Philadelphia, Pa.
- Butler, W. J., 10-4-64—Montgomery, Ala.: Conscript.
- Cain (Kane), Michael, 6-12-61: Missing since battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-21-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Canavan, James, 5-22-61—Mobile, Ala.: Name placed on Roll of Honor at battle of Williamsburg. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged or given wounded parole. Treated at Episcopal Church Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 8-63. Returned to Company 9-4-63.
- Canney (Caney), John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Lost his left arm at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Cannon, James: Captured at Farmville, Va., 4-6-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Released 6-9-65.
- Carney, George, 1-11-64: Transferred to 1st Louisiana Regiment, 4-21-64.
- Carr, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of

- Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Corporal, 12-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Carter, John: His name appears on a register of C. S. A. General Hospital, Danville, Va., as returned to duty.
- Carville, J. C.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-24-65.
- Case, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at skirmish at New Market Bridge, Newport News, Va., 12-22-61. He was the first man on the Regiment to be killed in action with the enemy.
- Cashin, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Cassidy, John I., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 8-5-62. Transferred to C. S. Navy.
- Cassidy, John II, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 11-4-62.
- Chaffin (Chafin), Moses, 6-1-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 6-30-64.
- Cherry, Charles, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Corporal, 7-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Cochran, J. H., 8-27-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Substitute. Severely wounded and captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Sent to Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D. C. Given wounded parole. Treated at Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 8-63.
- Connors, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Apparently never returned to Company.
- Convy (Convey), William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Corporal. Discharged, 1-31-62, due to chronic illness.
- Coyne, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A., 8-10-62.
- Crivallari (Crivallair), Thomas, 6-12-61—Richmond, Va.: Present with Company. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Crowly (Crowley), Patrick, 11-10-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Sub-

- stitute. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Killed at battle of Petersburg, 6-27-64.
- Curtin, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Daisy, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Dargan, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Died at Baptist Church Hospital, Williamsburg, 5-31-62.
- Davis, Milton, 6-1-64: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy, 3-30-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Davis, W. C.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war received at DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor, that were captured at battle of Gettysburg.
- Deboise (Dubose), G. W., 8-10-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle on Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Densmore (Dinsmore), Samuel, 9-1-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Substitute. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Paroled 5-30-65.
- Devine, Peter, 8-11-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Substitute. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Apparently not exchanged.
- Dougherty (Doherty), John C., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Exchanged 8-5-62. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-31-62.
- Dolan, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharged due to disability caused by his wound.
- Donegan, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Hill, 6-27-62.
- Donnell, Edward O., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Dowling, Dennis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Dowling, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 9-3-62.
- Dowling, John (Joseph), 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted his Company, 5-28-62. Is supposed to have remained in Confederate service.

- Duff, Michael, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, Va., 6-22-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Dunigan, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Dwyer, Walter, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to illness. Subsequently died.
- Dwyer, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Egan, Michael, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Eldre, Daniel: His name appears as a signature to oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. while prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 8-10-62.
- Fallen, (Tallin), Thomas, 8-13-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Missing after battle of Gettysburg.
- Feeney, Bernard, 6-15-63—Chancellorsville, Va.: Conscript. Died of wounds received at engagement at North River, Va., 5-24-64.
- Finigan (Finnigan), Timothy, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged n.d.
- Fitzgerald, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. No record afterwards.
- Flannery, Phillip, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Died from his wounds at Cliffburne U. S. A. General Hospital, Washington, D. C., 5-23-62.
- Forman, Arthur, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-25-63.
- Foy, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 7-19-62.
- Geary, Cornelius, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released 6-14-65.
- Gilday, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Detailed to Ordnance Department.
- Glaze, William, 5-13-64—Jefferson Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded near Petersburg, Va., 10-23-64.

- Golding, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Permanently disabled at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Hospitalized in Mobile and Shelby Springs, Alabama hospitals. Retired 11-64. Paroled in Marion, Ala., 5-16-65.
- Golding, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released, 6-14-65.
- Gordon, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded (loss of left eye) and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Given wounded parole. Retired 11-64.
- Hall, Dennis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.
- Hamilton, John 2nd, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Hamilton, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Hanlon, William: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged, 8-31-62. Retired as permanently disabled, 2-27-63.
- Hannon, Charles, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 4th Sergeant. 2nd Sergeant, 3-62. Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Released, 6-15-65.
- Hart, Joseph F., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Sergeant, 2-1-63. Wounded during skirmish at Turkey Ridge, Va., 6-3-64. Surrendered 4-20-65, and sent to New York.
- Harville, Augustus, 8-2-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. His name appears on a register of effects of deceased soldiers, 1864.
- Hastings, B. W., 5-25-64—Mt. Sterling, Ala.: Conscript. Record of frequent hospitalization after induction.
- Hays (Hayes), Dennis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Hennessey, Daniel (Denis), 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died at Cliffburne U. S. A. General Hospital, Washington, D. C., 8-27-62, from wounds received at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.
- Herring, Isaac, 6-1-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Killed at battle of Weldon Railroad, Va., 8-21-64.
- Higgins, Farrell, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62.

- Holland, J. F., 8-20-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Detailed as Division Wagoner.
- Jennings, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Sergeant, 2-1-63. Killed at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-20-62.
- Kane (Kain), Durham, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Kane (Cain), Michael, 6-12-61—Richmond, Va.: Missing since battle of Weldon Railroad, 8-21-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Kay, Anthony: Captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Exchanged, 7-16-62.
- Kearny, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Kearney, George, 1-11-64: Conscript. Transferred to the 1st Louisiana Regiment.
- Keeley (Keiley), Richard, 3-17-63—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy.
- Kent, Pierce, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 3rd Sergeant, 2-1-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released, 6-7-65.
- Keene, H.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va. n.d.
- King, Anthony, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded (loss of left eye) and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Given wounded parole. Discharged due to physical disability, 8-1-62.
- Kirkland, William V., 6-15-64—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured near Petersburg, Va., 4-2-65. Sent to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 6-14-65.
- Krane, A.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 3-9-64.
- Lanahan, John, 10-10-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 6-14-65.
- Landrum, L. B., 5-5-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Transferred to 48th Mississippi Regiment, 11-1-64.
- Langan, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle

of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged, 4-64, as permanently disabled.

Leary, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Released 6-14-65.

Loughry (Loughery), Oliver, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 3rd Sergeant, 11-61. Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged from Fort Monroe, Va., 8-31-62. Retired due to disability caused by his wounds.

Lynch, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted to the enemy, 11-27-64.

Maher, Daniel, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured near Richmond, Va., 6-28-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 8-5-62.

Maily (Maley) (Meely), John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-7-62.

Mallon, John, 5-20-62—Mobile, Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to his wounds.

Man, E. S.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-22-65.

Martin, Bernard, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Discharged, probably due to physical disability.

Mathers, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: 1st Corporal. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of 2nd Manassas, 8-31-62. Deserted at battle of Ream's Station, 6-29-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y.

McAfee, George, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability.

McAfee, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.

McCarron, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Sergeant, 6-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Exchanged at Camp Lee, Va., 9-63. Captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y.

- McCauley (McCirley), Roderick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Died in Richmond hospital, 7-27-62.
- McCready, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Died at Chesapeake U.S.A. General Hospital, Fort Monroe, Va., 7-17-62.
- McDevitt, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Discharged due to physical disability.
- McFeely, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Sent to Fort Monroe Prison, Va. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Discharged due to physical disability.
- McGlynn, Thomas, 5-2-61—Mobile, Ala.: Never joined Company in Virginia.
- McIlwee, Andrew, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Remained in C. S. A. service.
- McKeone, Hugh, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Wounded at battle of Weldon Railroad, 6-23-64. Wounded at skirmish at Fussell's Mill, 8-17-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor. Captured, 4-12-65.
- McKeown, John: Sergeant. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor.
- McManus, Francis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- McNiff, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64.
- Meely, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Deserted at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Messer, Joseph, 5-25-64: Conscript. Present.
- Moosback, A.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62.
- Moran, Francis, 5-10-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Mulligan, Peter, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Discharged 11-61.
- Murphy, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Deserted his Company. Remained in C. S. A.

- Murphy, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Murphy, S. W., Died at Chesapeake General Hospital, Williamsburg, Va., 6-13-62.
- Myersberg (Meyersberg), Louis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Drummer. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U.S.A.
- Noonan, Timothy, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- O'Donnell, Edward O., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Musician. Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- O'Neill (O'Neal), Cornelius, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- O'Neill (O'Neal), George, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Discharge due to physical disability.
- Paterson, M. A.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-23-65.
- Pendergast, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Hill, 6-27-62. Discharged as permanently disabled.
- Pendergast, W., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: His name appears on original muster roll. No other information.
- Perle (Pearl), William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62.
- Pickett, William, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Pitts, Norville, 5-5-64—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Record of hospitalization at Raleigh, N. C. Paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-9-65.
- Powers, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. 3rd Sergeant, 6-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Exchanged 7-30-63. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Discharged due to his wounds.
- Powers, W., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: His name appears on original Company muster roll.
- Quill, Patrick, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Exchanged n.d. Detailed to C. S. A. arsenal, Selma, Ala.
- Quinn, Michael, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness n.d.

- Regan, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged 10-14-62.
- Regan, Michael L., 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Exchanged n.d. Wounded at skirmish at Turkey Ridge, Va., 6-3-64. Surrendered and took oath of allegiance to the U.S.A.
- Riley, Joseph, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Transferred to C. S. Navy, 3-63.
- Roberts, Archibald, 9-16-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Detailed as Wagoner to the Regiment. Deserted to the enemy, 3-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Rogers, A. J.: Transferred to the C. S. Navy.
- Russell, Sylvester, 3-6-62—Mobile, Ala. Transferred from Company H, 8th Alabama Infantry, 12-62. Wounded at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Wounded and captured at battle of the Wilderness, 5-7-64. Paroled at Point Lookout Prison, Md., and exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 3-15-65.
- Ryan, James, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wagoner. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 8-17-62. Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 6-22-64. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Ryan, M. L.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital, Petersburg, Va., and Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., in June and July, 1864.
- Sexton, Michael, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Slightly wounded at skirmish at New Market Bridge, near Newport News, Va., 12-22-61. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Shepherd, Alexander, 6-12-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Exchanged, 9-29-63. Transferred to C. S. Navy.
- Snelley, Stephen: Discharged due to old age and disability. This man was 63 years old.
- Smith, J. I., 10-10-64—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. His name appears on a record of the Company as present, 1-1-65.
- Smith, Thomas, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged, 8-11-62. Wounded at battle of Gettysburg.
- Spencer, J. R.: His name appears on a record of Confederate soldiers paroled at Montgomery, Ala., 5-12-65.
- Stafford, Bartholomew, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Sullivan, Daniel, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

- Sullivan, Dennis, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Treated at U. S. A. Hospital, Chester, Pa., and Hammond General Hospital, Point Lookout, Md. Joined U. S. service, 1-25-64.
- Sullivan, J. A.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 1st quarter of 1864.
- Sullivan, John, 9-3-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Substitute. Hospitalized through much of the war.
- Summers, William, 8-12-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged, 2-10-65.
- Swain, Isaac, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Exchanged from Fort Monroe, Va., 8-31-62. Discharged due to his wounds.
- Tallin, Thomas, 8-13-62: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Not exchanged.
- Taylor, N.: His name appears on a morning report of Jackson Hospital, Richmond, Va., 5-18-64.
- Tobin, Edward S., 5-22-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Williamsburg, 5-5-62. Returned to duty. Died at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 2-17-64, due to an accidental wound.
- Tompkins, J. A., 5-19-64—Covington, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded n.d.
- Tremell, Arnold, 8-12-62—Tallapoosa, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died at Point Lookout Prison, Md., 12-6-63.
- Walker, Richard, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to his wounds.
- Walsh, John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Died of illness, 9-61.
- Whitter (Whitler), John, 5-20-61—Mobile, Ala.: Captured near Boonsboro, Md., during Maryland campaign. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 10-10-62.
- Wood, W. H.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as transferred to Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-17-63.
- Wright, James A., 8-20-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-11-64.

APPENDIX N

**Company "K", 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry
"Southern Guards"**

This Company was raised on May 16, 1861, at Radfordshire, Perry County, Alabama, and was mustered in C. S. A. service on or about June 9, 1861, for the period of the war.

OFFICERS

Captain Duke Nall: Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Wounded at battle of the Wilderness, 5-6-64. Promoted to Major of the Regiment, 11-2-64. Died of complications from wound received at battle of the Wilderness.

Captain William L. Fagan: 2nd Lt., 5-16-61. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. 1st Lt., 8-17-62. Captain, 11-2-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

1st Lt. William L. Butler: 5-16-61 to 3-18-62. Resigned.

1st Lt. Columbus L. Bennett: 2nd Lt., 5-16-61. 1st Lt., 3-18-62. Died of wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.

1st Lt. T. C. Monroe: Musician 5-16-61. Sergeant 1862. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged. 2nd Lt., 11-30-63. 1st Lt., 11-30-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

2nd Lt. B. J. Fuller: Enlisted 5-16-61. 2nd Lt., 4-22-62. Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.

2nd Lt. James C. Nall: Corporal 5-16-61. 2nd Lt., 9-14-62. Killed at battle of Spotsylvania C. H., 5-11-64.

Enlisted Ranks

Barron, R. H., 5-21-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Subsequently died from his wound, n.d.

Bennett, James S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 10-19-61.

Bennett, James M., 3-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died of measles while prisoner of war, 9-20-63.

- Bennett, Newton, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded 1863. Overstayed wounded furlough to Alabama. Died of pneumonia at General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Va., 5-2-64.
- Bennett, R. E., 2-12-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died of typhoid fever at U. S. General Hospital, Camp Letterman, Gettysburg, Pa., 8-7-63.
- Blackburn, John: His name appears on a register of deceased Confederate soldiers from Alabama filed for settlement with family.
- Bledsoe, A. M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Present the entire war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Bledsoe, T. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Returned to duty. Died of illness in camp, 1-21-64, near Orange C. H., Va.
- Bledsoe, William E., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 3rd Sergeant. Slightly wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died of illness 10-27-62.
- Bolling, John S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Exchanged from Elmira Prison, N. Y., 10-29-64.
- Bolling, Sanders, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Wilderness, 5-6-64. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. 8-15-64.
- Boykin, George, 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- Boyd, John A. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Va.: Died, 7-25-62, from wounds received at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Boyd, W. L.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for 3rd quarter of 1862, and 1st quarter of 1863.
- Brady, Andrew J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died, 6-30-62, at Chimborazo Hospital No. 1, Richmond, Va.
- Butler, D. W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 10-23-61.
- Callahan, Thomas C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-13-65.
- Carleton, W. E., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Williamsburg, 5-6-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.

- Cosby, J. R.: His name appears on a list.
- Cathran, James: His name appears as a signature to a roll of prisoners of war captured 4-16-63.
- Chandler, C. J., 2-20-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Church, W. S., 11-7-62—Culpepper, Va.: Detailed as Division Teamster.
- Cosby, Joseph W.: Discharged due to physical disability, 6-21-62.
- Cosby, J. R., 3-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: In and out of hospitals throughout war. Conscript.
- Crocker, John M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Cummings, C. A., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died 7-18-63.
- Cummings, F. P., 2-15-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- Davis, Uriah, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died at Petersburg General Hospital, 6-30-64.
- Driver, F. A., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 1st Sergeant. Died, 6-27-62, in Richmond, Va.
- Dunklin, J. B., 2-7-62—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died while in prison.
- Edwards, F. M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Discharged 10-7-61.
- Edwards, James, 2-18-63—Marion, Ala.: Straggled after battle of Gettysburg and captured near Fairfield, Pa., 7-5-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 6-15-65.
- Edwards, James Jr., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness in Richmond, Va., 5-21-62.
- Edwards, James Sr., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Hospitalized throughout most of 1861. No other information.
- Edwards, S. A.: Discharged 3-16-63 by furnishing a substitute.
- Edwards, W. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Elliott, Toler E., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged 3-64. Paroled at Marion, Ala., 5-15-65.

- England, W. S., 2-18-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Severely wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Detailed to Confederate arsenal, Selma, Ala., 10-1-64. Paroled at Selma, 6-65.
- Fain, John W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Exchanged and treated in Confederate hospitals. Returned to duty. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Fike, Charles E., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- Fike, James H., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Paroled for treatment in Confederate hospitals in Richmond, Va. Returned to duty by 6-3-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Filbert, W. S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Hill, 6-27-62. Subsequently died from his wounds.
- Fiske, Charles E., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Paroled at Elmira Prison, N. Y., 3-10-65.
- Ford, H. M., 3-7-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness in 1864.
- Fowler, G. W.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Fowler, Lawson: Died of illness near Fredericksburg, Va., 4-6-63.
- Fowler, O. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Regimental Wagoner. Captured during retreat from battle of Gettysburg, near Williamsport, Md., 7-6-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Frith, H. H., 2-15-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Died of pneumonia, 8-28-63, while prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Frith, Joseph M., 6-1-61—Richmond, Va.: Traveled from Marion, Ala., to enlist. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Later detailed as Wagoner.
- Fuller, George W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Fuller, Jesse S., 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of typhoid fever in Richmond hospital, 8-14-62.

- Fuller, J. M., 3-7-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Later given wounded parole.
- Fuller, R. P. T., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Given wounded parole and treated in Richmond hospital. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gambrel, W. T., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort McHenry Prison. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 1-23-64. Paroled at Point Lookout, 2-18-65.
- Garrison, Benjamin F., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged, 8-9-62, due to his wounds.
- Garrison, John D., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Garrison, Samuel D., 6-23-61—Yorktown, Va.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Garrison, S. Frank, 3-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65.
- George, M. D., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 9-61.
- Goocher, W. J., 5-14-64—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Green, J. P., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-26-63. Exchanged 2-18-65. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Green, W. P., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala. Detailed as Teamster-Ambulance Driver.
- Griffin, John W., 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Name placed on Roll of Honor for his bravery at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Griffin, Samuel F.: Name appears on a register of deceased Alabama soldiers.
- Hain, T. N.: Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-3-62.
- Hanson, John W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Detailed as Regimental Wagoner. Died of illness at Flint Hill, Va., 10-17-62.

- Harbour, C. C., 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Killed at battle of Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.
- Harbour, Ezekial T., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Served while under age. Released 3-24-65. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Harbour, John R., 4-2-64—Selma, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Harley, Michael: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Died from his wounds, 5-31-63.
- Harris, George C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Corporal. Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Killed at battle of Enemy's Left Flank, Petersburg, 6-22-64.
- Harris, J. P., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Sergeant Major. Wounded at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-31-64.
- Harris, Oliver M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62. Name placed on Roll of Honor.
- Heard, R. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Died as a prisoner of war. n.d.
- Henly, Edward Jr., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md. Transferred to Elmira Prison, N. Y., 8-17-64. Released 6-14-65.
- Hicks, J. L., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: His name appears on the first two muster rolls of the Company.
- Higgins, P. W.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 10-15-62.
- Hodge, W. L., 2-2-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hodges, John W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Hopkins, Solomon, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died near Bristol, Va., 10-29-62.
- Howard, Claiborn, 3-13-63: Conscript. Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-25-64.
- Howard, Henry C., 11-14-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Died of illness, 8-19-64.
- Huff, James M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and cap-

- tured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hurt, H. H.: His name appears as a signature to a parole of prisoner of war at Marion, Ala., 5-16-65.
- Jackson, George, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Transferred to 10th Georgia Regiment, 1-1-62.
- Jackson, Thomas, 3-17-62: Conscript. Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Jones, B. B., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 7-23-61.
- Jones, J. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Yorktown, Va., 3-11-62.
- Jones, John A., 2-3-63—Marion, Ala.: Present for latter part of the war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Jordan, J. D. M.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 1-14-64.
- Langford, C. M.: Died of illness at 2nd Alabama Hospital, Richmond, Va., 1-27-63.
- Langford, J. B., 2-7-63—Marion, Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 10-27-63. Hospitalized at U. S. Hospital, Point Lookout, Md., 11-63. Apparently given wounded parole. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Langford, Neil, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: His name appears on a Company muster roll for July and August, 1861.
- Langston, L. C.: His name appears on a register for pay for the period of 4-30-62 to 11-1-62.
- Lawley, R. P., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Discharged due to physical disability caused by his wound, 7-30-62.
- Logan, William Steward, 5-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Lowery, Thomas, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died while home on sick furlough, 6-20-62.
- Mahan, John S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: His name appears on a register of Chimborazo Hospital No. 1, Richmond, Va., as returned to duty, 6-24-62.
- Marcus, James, 3-13-63: Substitute. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-63. Died while a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 9-27-63.
- Martin, B. F., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 2nd Corporal. Sergeant 6-1-61. Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63.

Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.

McCollum, John H., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 5th Sergeant. Present with Company through 1864.

McMurry, A., 2-23-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded, place and date not known. Hospitalized frequently thereafter.

McWilliams, Andrew: Killed at battle of the Petersburg Crater, 7-30-64.

Melton, T. M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Hospitalized in Richmond, Va., 12-61.

Meridith, J. T., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., Exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Va., 8-5-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Meridith, W. S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Present with Company to 1864.

Mitchell, R. S., 5-16-64—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Hospitalized frequently with illnesses.

Mock, George F., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died in camp, 4-24-63.

Molash, P. A.: His name appears on a roll of Confederate prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala. 6-19-65.

Morris, J. R., 3-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Morris, J. S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Hospitalized at Orange C. H., Va. His name also appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 3-64. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Mulmer, P. A.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 3-22-65.

Nall, Robert W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.

Nalley, J. J., 4-29-64—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Record of hospitalization in Richmond, Va., hospital. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

Nixon, J. T., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Discharged due to physical disability, 12-25-61.

Oakes, George W., 3-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Oakes, James M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Oakes, W. Thomas, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died 9-15-61.
- Oakes, William F., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 3rd Sergeant. Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Osborn, J. W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Parker, W. C. Y., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Transferred, 7-5-61, to Colonel Morris' Alabama Regiment.
- Patillo, W. H., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62.
- Perry, B. P., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Sent to Elmira Prison, N. Y. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and released 6-19-65.
- Peters, A. C.: His name appears on a list of deceased soldiers, 8-64.
- Pike, J. K.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 10-28-64.
- Proctor, C. W., 2-2-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Radford, A. J.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Ready, John L., 6-1-61—Richmond, Va.: This soldier paid his own expenses from Marion, Ala., to enlist. Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Reynolds, Alonzo, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63.
- Reynolds, James: His name placed on Roll of Honor at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Mentioned for bravery at battle of Gettysburg.
- Richardson, James Madison, 3-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Received wounded parole. Discharged due to physical disability caused by his wound, 10-25-62.
- Richardson, R. R., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Sergeant, Present throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Richardson, T. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-5-62. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Apparently given wounded parole since there is a record of being on wounded furlough in Alabama.

- Robertson, J. R.: His name appears on a register for pay for the period of 2-28-63 to 6-30-63.
- Russell, J. N., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Mortally wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Died at General Hospital No. 12, Richmond, Va., 8-31-62.
- Russell, J. R., 10-15-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Schoolhoffer (Schulhofer), Philip, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Shivers, J. B., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Corporal. Assigned as Commissary Guard.
- Shorths, S. P.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., as transferred to Alabama Hospital, 7-20-63.
- Smith, George M., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: 2nd Corporal. 4th Sergeant 1863. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Smith, George W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Treated at Letterman General Hospital, Gettysburg, Pa. Transferred to City Point, Va. Given wounded parole and treated at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Smith, J.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 21, Richmond, Va., as transferred from Camp Winder General Hospital, 11-17-62.
- Smith, T. J., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Sharpsburg, 9-17-62.
- Sponsoby, W. W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Danville, Va., 8-15-62.
- Spratt, Samuel, 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Record of frequent hospitalizations.
- Sticks, J. D.: Discharged 11-26-61.
- Strange, D. B., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness, 5-30-62.
- Suttles, John W. Jr., 5-16-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of a non-combat injury, 6-30-62.
- Suttles, M. B., Detailed as Teamster throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Suttles, William W., 2-2-62—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Wounded at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Received wounded parole.

- Taylor, William F.: His name appears on a record for pay in 1862.
- Thompson, George W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Townsend, C. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Died of illness at Wynne's Mill, Va., 12-10-61.
- Townsend, William S., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Received wounded parole. Returned to duty. Wounded at battle of Burgess Farm, 10-27-64.
- Wallace (Wallis), William, 2-1-63—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-3-63. Sent to DeCamp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor. Received wounded parole and died at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 7-4-64.
- Watters, John O., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Present with Company through 2-63.
- Watters, Samuel B. F., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Severely wounded at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Wells, W. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Permanently disabled at battle of Frazier's Farm, 6-30-62. Retired 9-20-64.
- White, Perry S., 1-1-63—Perry Co., Ala.: Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Died at Hammond U. S. A. General Hospital, Point Lookout, Md., 11-11-63.
- White, S. H., 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-4-63. Permanently disabled. Received wounded parole from Point Lookout, Md., 4-27-64. Name placed on the Roll of Honor.
- White, W. S.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Williams, E. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Killed at battle of Gaines' Mill, 6-27-62.
- Williams, Frank H., 6-1-61—Richmond, Va.: This man paid his own expenses to Richmond, Va., to join Company. Wounded at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Md. Transferred to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md.,

- where he received a wounded parole. Later treated at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 2-65.
- Williams, H.: His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., as furloughed for 30 days to 3-6-65.
- Young, George W., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Patient at Chimborazo Hospital, No. 1, Richmond, Va., 12-13-61 to 3-25-62, and again from 5-31-62 to 6-12-62.
- Young, H. C., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del., 7-6-63. Transferred to Point Lookout Prison, Md., 10-23-63. Exchanged 2-18-65. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Young, James C., 3-17-62—Perry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Wounded and captured at battle of Gettysburg, 7-2-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Exchanged 2-18-65. Paroled at Selma, Ala., 6-65.
- Young, Joseph M., Jr., 5-16-61—Perry Co., Ala.: Present with Company throughout war. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Young, Joseph M., Sr., 2-18-63—Marion, Ala.: Conscript. Present through 1863. Patient at General Hospital, Petersburg, Va., 6-20-64, and General Hospital No. 9, Richmond, Va., 7-1-64.

APPENDIX O—Supernumeraries

The following names are listed, in the compiled service records of Confederate soldiers who served in organizations from the State of Alabama, as assigned to the 8th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry, but no Company was designated. Very little, if any, other information was available.

- Bennett, William W.: Assigned to the Regiment, but never reached the command due to chronic rheumatism.
- Blount, W. H.: Died of illness at Howard's Grove General Hospital, Richmond, Va., 1-16-63.
- Boland, A.
- Bowling, H.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Brown, John S.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Broyles, B. F.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Broyles, George: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Brum, David: Teamster in Quartermaster Corps.
- Butler, James: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Churchill, D.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Coleman, J. F.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Collins, Rice: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Cona, G.: His name appears on a register of a Richmond hospital, 1-20-64.
- Conklin, J.: Sergeant. Captured at battle of Salem Church, 5-3-63. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del. Paroled at Fort Delaware.
- Cook, Enoch: His name appears on a prisoner of war roll at Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D. C., 3-21-63.
- Cook, F. M.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., 2-20-63. Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Cumby, A. B.: Died of illness, 11-4-62, at Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va.
- Delannon (DeLamar), Eugene: Sergeant. Deserted to the enemy, 3-3-63.
- Derden, W. D.: His name appears on a register of the Medical Director's Office, Richmond, Va., 1-18-63.
- Donnell, J. M.: His name appears on a register of Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va., as patient.

- Evans, James, 8-28-62—Henry Co., Ala.: Conscript. Discharged, 4-20-63.
- Evans, J. H.: Corporal. Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 5-31-62. Died while a prisoner of war, 6-28-62.
- Ferguson, W. A.: Lieutenant. His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 4, Richmond, Va., 5-9-64, with the remark of 'Paroled prisoner'.
- Fogg, W. R.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gamble, M. J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Gandey, A. E.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Garrod, J. D., 9-7-62—Montgomery, Ala.: His name appears on a Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va., muster roll, 1-1-63.
- Golson, W. W., 8-13-62—Camp Watts, Ala.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-18-62, before full assignment to a Company.
- Goodson, C.: Died of typhoid fever, 10-27-62.
- Goodson, J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Griffin, R. F.: Died of pneumonia at Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-26-62.
- Hamilton, E. E.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Harman, T. W.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Hense, P.: His name appears on a register of deserters or refugees at Provost Marshall, Washington, D. C., 7-1-65.
- Hogg, J. F.: Conscript. Discharged due to physical disability, 11-22-62.
- Hosley, G.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Iron, T. P.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Jenkins, B. H.: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-23-65.
- Jones, James M.: Conscript. Deserted to the enemy, 6-15-64. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Jordan, W. D. (T): His name appears on a register of Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., 3-26-63.
- Joy, W. H.: His name appears on a list of prisoners of war on the Steamer KATSKILL, 8-5-62.
- Keane, M.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for July, 1864.
- Leigh, H. B.: His name appears on a register for pay as Chief Musician, 1864.
- Lewis, F.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Livingston, A. J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Lofton, A.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Long, E.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Long, J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- McVay, G. W.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Meadows, W.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Miner, Peter: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Martin, F.: Captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62. Sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Nere, James: His name appears on a descriptive list of prisoners of war captured at battle of Seven Pines, 6-1-62, and sent to Fort Delaware Prison, Del.
- Newman, L.: His name appears on a register of men paroled at Selma, Ala., 5-65.
- Ovey, F.: Deserted. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Padgett, W. (Wiley): Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Palmer, P.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Parramore, W. R.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Posel, M.: Conscript. Died of typhoid fever at Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-16-62.
- Prayton, John: His name appears on a register that indicates that he was in Union hands during the last days of the war. His transportation was furnished to Decatur, Ala.
- Province, Levi M.: Deserted to the enemy. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Pumphrey, Roland: Deserted to the enemy in early 1863. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A.
- Ray, W. W.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Roberson, G. P.: His name appears on a register of General Hospital No. 21, Richmond, Va., 10-2-6?
- Rutledge, J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Sartin, E. B.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Shirley, W.: His name appears on a receipt roll for clothing for the 4th quarter of 1864. Paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Soloman, A. L.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Staggers, J. A.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Stewart, C. E.: 1st Lieutenant. His name appears on a list of prisoners of war captured at Tuskegee, Ala.: 4-14-65.
- Taylor, A.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

- Thompkins, J. L.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Turner, A. J.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Vaughn, W. B.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Walters, B. F.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Whiley, J.: His name appears on a register of deserters at Provost Marshall, Washington, D. C., 4-6-65. Took oath of allegiance to the U. S. A. and transportation furnished to New York City.
- Willis, J. J.: Died of pneumonia at Camp Winder Hospital, Richmond, Va., 11-8-62.
- Wilson, A. G.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Womac, W.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.
- Wyatt, Ira: His name appears on a roll of prisoners of war paroled at Talladega, Ala., 5-23-65.
- Young, F. M.: Listed as paroled at Appomattox C. H., 4-9-65.

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Milo B. Howard, Jr., Editor

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THE STORMING OF MOBILE BAY

Edited by

Richard R. Duncan

For a war weary Union the summer of 1864 offered little cause for rejoicing. Both the armies of Grant and Sherman seemed to be hopelessly stalemated before Petersburg and Atlanta, while General Jubal Early swept down the Shenandoah Valley to threaten the very security of Washington itself. Only the navy had offered Unionists much encouraging hope. The destruction of the *Shenandoah*, the Confederacy's fame raider, and finally the stunning victory at Mobile Bay by Admiral David G. Farragut gave at least some solace in the military and political gloom of August of that year.

For two years following the fall of New Orleans Farragut had hoped to direct an expedition against the troublesome port of Mobile.¹ However, frustrating postponements and diversions had prevented any such move until the summer of 1864. Unfortunately, delay had also allowed the Confederacy to strengthen Mobile's defenses and to complete the construction of the formidable ironclad, the C.S.S. *Tennessee*, to aid in the defense of the harbor. Yet, despite an elaborate Confederate defense system consisting of obstructions, a mine field, forts, and the *Tennessee*, a determined Farragut struck at Mobile on August 5th.²

¹Mobile, a city with a population of 29,258 on the eve of the Civil War, was the last major Gulf coast port remaining in Southern hands. During the war Mobile became one of the South's principal blockade-running harbors.

²Three forts—Fort Morgan on Mobile Point, Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island, and Fort Powell in Grant's Pass—protected the lower bay. Fort Morgan, the most important and structurally the most elaborate, commanded the main channel. A mine or "torpedo" field on the eastern side of Dauphin Island narrowed the use of the main channel and made Fort Morgan's command over the bay's entrance a formidable one. In addition three small paddlewheel gunboats, the *Morgan*, *Gaines*, and *Selma*—unarmored except for iron strips around their boilers—and the ironclad, the *Tennessee*, provided naval protection for the harbor. The *Tennessee* was more than 200 feet in length and had six-inch armor. She suffered, however, from two marked liabilities: her top speed was only six knots, and her steering gear was vulnerable to attack. For an account of the entire operations against Mobile Bay see Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative* (New York, 1974), III, pp. 492-508.

Witnessing the assault and fury of the ensuing battle was a young twenty-year old ensign, Purnell Frederick Harrington.³ Son of Delaware's Chancellor, Samuel Maxwell Harrington,⁴ he had attended the Naval Academy for two years when in October, 1863, he received his appointment as a ensign. By the following July he had become a member of Farragut's Gulf squadron. Fortunately, Harrington also recorded his experiences and observations of the attack in a series of letters⁵ to his father and brother, Samuel.⁶ Not only was Harrington a keen observer and recorder of events, but in them he vividly captured the excitement and emotional catharsis of battle.

I

U.S.S. Monongahela
Off Mobile, July 6th, 1864

Dear Sam—

I have time to write you a note. I presume you will read

³Purnell Frederick Harrington (1844-1937), born in Dover, Delaware, was the son of Samuel Maxwell Harrington, Chancellor of Delaware. He attended the Naval Academy from September, 1861, until October, 1863, when he was appointed as an ensign. During the Civil War he served on the *Ticonderoga*, *Niagara*, and *Monongahela*. In the summer of 1864 he joined the blockading fleet in the Gulf of Mexico and participated in the attack on Mobile Bay. Following the war he quickly rose in the ranks of the navy and distinguished himself in various positions. In 1903 he was promoted to the rank of rear admiral. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1939), XXVII, 482-483.

⁴Samuel Maxwell Harrington (1803-1865), born in Dover, Delaware, was a graduate of Washington College in Maryland and studied law in the offices of Henry M. Ridgely and Martin W. Bates. He was admitted to the bar in 1826 and two years later he was appointed to the position of secretary of state. In 1830 he became chief justice of Delaware's supreme court. With the reorganization of that court he was appointed as an associate justice on the new superior court and served in this capacity until 1855 when he was made chief justice. Two years later he became chancellor. He was also a principal figure in the development of the Delaware Railroad and became its president on its organization in 1852. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), VIII, 302-303.

⁵Privately owned.

⁶Samuel Milby Harrington (1840-1878), born in Dover, Delaware, was the eldest son of Samuel Maxwell Harrington and brother of Purnell Frederick. He was a graduate of Delaware College and studied law under his father and Chancellor Bates. He was admitted to the bar in 1861 and in the following year he was appointed adjutant-general by the governor of Delaware. In 1863 he was made secretary of state. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 595-596.

my letters to Father since I arrived here. The passage down was not very pleasant. The transom on which we were to sleep was filled with bedbugs and I refused to sleep there. Several of us made our bed together on the deck of the ward-room. We passed the New *Ironsides* on her way home. On the second day out we spoke the *Tioga* bound north from Key West with yellow fever. Six of her men and three officers had died in three days. We sent her first officer on board and gave her some ice. On Sunday week we chased a steamer laden with cotton. She escaped. On the Tuesday following we arrived at Key West where we left Gillett, Hoff and Irvin. Found fever there but not very fierce. Left Key West and after three very hot and uncomfortable days arrived here at sunset on Thursday last. Several of my classmates came on board at once and we had quite a jubilee. On Friday, July 1st, at 9 A. M. we went on board the *Hartford*¹ and reported to Farragut. I had a very fine letter to Captain Drayton, the Fleet Captain, from my friend Capt. C. R. P. Rodgers. It secured me consideration at once and I was ordered to this vessel. I came right on board and found her underway to shell a rebel steamer under Fort Morgan. I was given a Division at once and in a few minutes from the time I joined her I was under fire. These shells make a horrible noise when they come at ye. I think "he is not brave who feels no fear, but he who nobly dares what nature shrinks from." I certainly did not feel frightened only a little nervous when I saw a shell burst right over my head. I stood still because of a con[s]ciousness that in that I [*sic*] way it was my duty to give my men courage. I soon became tolerably accustomed to it. I have been under fire three times since. On the Fourth, we had the customary salutes at noon. At 1 P.M. on that day, the Adm'l signalled us to engage the fort, two other vessels to fight two shore batteries near Fort Morgan, and two more to fire on the steamer. We fired thirty four shells at the fort, eleven dropping near the flagstaff and the remainder striking the fort outside. This is the last fight I have been in. We were not hurt.

I like the ship very much. I will write you more about the ship, blockade, etc. Our Capt. is Commander Jas. H. Strong —

¹U.S.S. *Hartford* was Farragut's flagship.

a very good old fellow. We have a very pleasant time in the wardroom. Four of us give a concert for the benefit of the other officers nearly every evening. The Adm'l considers this his fighting ship. We have the post of honor nearest the harbor and right in the channel and must be the first vessel to meet the ironclads when they come out. We have an iron bow and can steam fourteen knots. We have written orders to run down the rebels when they appear. I dined with the Captain yesterday when he told me this last item. I will write to you soon again. Read my letter to Father.

S.M.H. Jr. I remain, Your Aff'te brother
P. F. Harrington
Ensign

P. S. Remember me to Arthur^s and friends.
It is *very warm here*

II

[First portion of the letter is missing.]

[To his Father]

At 2 P. M. we stood in and renewed the engagement. At 3, we steamed away and anchored near the admiral. We were struck but once during the fight and had no one hurt. The *Metacomet* had one man killed and one wounded. So ended my first fight. We are now anchored off our night station to the southward of Fort Morgan. We have all our guns trained to fire on the rebel ironclads in case they should come out, and we are ready to throw up rockets, etc., to bring the whole fleet into action at once.

The *Monongahela* is considered the finest ship here. She is precisely like the *Ticonderoga* in appearance but is finer and faster. We are the fastest ship of the fleet, steaming *fifteen (15) knots* at full speed. The motion is easy and pleasant. When I received my orders this morning, all the officers of the *Hartford* congratulated me on joining the finest ship in

^sArthur Milby, a cousin.

the squadron. Rathbone and Dana seemed to envy me very much. They remained on board the Flagship till this afternoon when they were to receive their orders. I have not heard where they go, but suppose they have ships by this time. The squadron is full of fine vessels. The *Lackawanna*, *Seminole*, *Hartford*, *Brooklyn*, *Richmond*, *Galena*, and the *Metacomet* are a few of them. Everyone seems to think, though, that *this* is the desirable vessel. The accommodations are fine and her officers nice fellows. I give you her officers — Commanding Officer, Commander James H. Strong; Executive Officer, Lieut. Roderick Prentiss; Lieutenant, O. A. Batcheller; Ensign Mullan of my class with myself and two Acting Ensigns — very nice fellows. We have also Assistant Paymaster Forbes Parker, Surgeon Kindleburger, Assistant Surgeon Lewis, and a fine Chief Engineer whose name I do not know. The subordinate officers are fine men. We have a very heavy battery and can fight a rebel ironclad. We have a massive stern of iron, and as we are so fast it is understood that we are to run down the rebel ironclads when they appear. Two or three of our ironclads are expected here in a few days from the north.

...

It is said here that my class will be examined for Lieutenants in October and November next. It is not unlikely. The *Monongahela* has been here 19 months and has received over 200 shots. She was through the New Orleans & Port Hudson fights. She will go north for repairs next spring. Think I may come home then if I don't get transferred to another ship, even if I do not come north for examination in the winter. Write at once.

Hon. S. M. Harrington

I remain, your loving son,
P. F. Harrington

P.S. It is hot down here. Very truly yours, P. F. H.

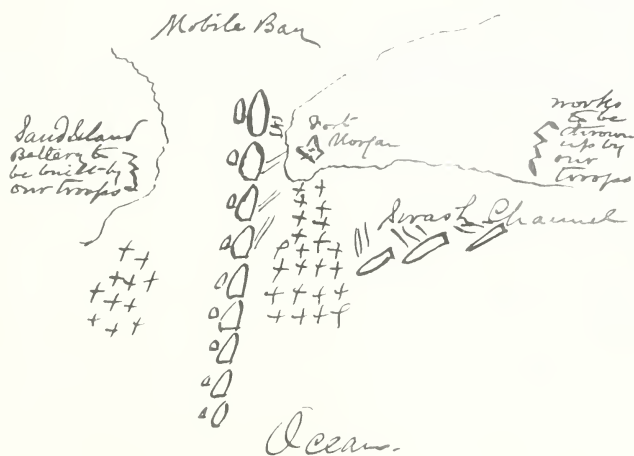
III

P. S. Being in a hurry for the mail, I scribbled off a hurried note of the news to Father. Show him this and he will understand me better. P. F. H.

U.S.S. Monongahela
Off Mobile, July 17, 1864

Dear Sam,

I write to inform you that the long-expected attack on Mobile is about to take place. Farragut issued a general order yesterday directing the preparations and giving the general plan for attack. Each regular man-of-war will have lashed to her on the off side a small gunboat. We go in with the flood tide and open with shot & shell. When within 300 or 400 yards we are to use grape and canister. Each vessel will be protected by chain slung outside and by sand bags inside. Howitzers will be mounted in the tops to drive the enemy from their guns. We shall use a S. W. wind which will blow our smoke right on the fort. The order of Farragut is well written. He commences with the command "Strip your vessels and prepare for the conflict." In one of his sentences you can see the grandeur of his bravery—"I shall go in with the flood tide." It says that there is no defeat. It is "Victory or death." The fleet wonders at such courage. Troops from New Orleans will throw up works on Mobile Pt. in rear of Fort Morgan and on Sand Island opposite to the fort. They will land and work under the protection of our fleet. Several of our vessels will take position outside at right angles to the line of battle and thus give a flanking fire. I will try to give you a rough sketch of the plan.



Now you see the fleet going up the channel [,] a small gunboat being on the port side to take the man-of-war through in case of disability. Several vessels in the Swash Channell [*sic*] give a flank fire. + represents shoal water. The order of battle is as follows; *Brooklyn*, *Hartford* (Flagship), *Richmond*, *Lackawanna*, *Monongahela*, *Ossipee*, *Seminole*, *Oneida*, and *Galena*. Besides these we shall have the *San Jacinto* and five ironclads, two double turretted, and any number of smaller ships, many of which will be left outside. The fight ought to last about three hours [,] each vessel being one hour under fire. My vessel comes no. 5 in the line, as good a place as one could wish. It was announced that the Adm'l would lead but the Captains of the fleet persuaded him to let the *Brooklyn*, Capt. Alden, lead, reasoning that the first ship might be blown up by torpedoes and that the Flag ought not to risk that chance.⁹ We shall go to Pensacola some time this week to prepare for the fight. It is understood that the attack will be made about the 30th inst. or as soon as we can get ready. No one doubts our success. It will certainly be one of the grandest scenes [The remainder of the letter is missing.]

IV

U.S.S. *Monongahela*
Mobile Bay, Aug. 5th, 1864

Dear Father,

We have fought this day one of the most terrific and terrible but one of the most glorious of the war. We got underway at 4 o'clock this morning and steamed in. We had a horrible fight with the fort. After coming in and beating off the rebel

⁹The *Brooklyn* was also equipped with a "cowcatcher or torpedo catcher." As planned, it took the lead in the line of wooden ships, but as it was beginning to overtake the monitor *Chickasaw*, the *Brooklyn* slowed. Captain James Alden signalled the *Hartford* for instructions, but meanwhile an explosion resulting in the sinking of the monitor *Tecumseh* by a mine added to the confusion. When the smoke cleared, a row of suspicious buoys were seen ahead of the *Brooklyn*. To avoid potential disaster the ship stopped and attempted to back away in order to clear them. Impatient, Farragut, assuming the risk, passed the *Brooklyn*, took the lead, and uttered his famous charge. *Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies in the War of Rebellion* (Washington, 1906), Ser. 1, Vol. 21, 403 and 445-447, and Foote, *Civil War*, 500-501.

gunboats, the rebel ram *Tennessee* attacked us. *This ship* led the way into her, ramming her twice. The whole fleet walked into her and she finally surrendered. She is just like the *Atlanta*¹⁰ but twice as powerful. She is the greatest capture of the war. Our loss is severe. This vessel is the glory of the fleet. I never saw such glorious bravery in my life. I am proud of this day. We have lost our Ex. Off. Lieut. Roderick Prentiss. He has had one leg amputated and will probably die. We had only four or five others hurt. The *Hartford* has 12 killed, 20 wounded, *Brooklyn* 14 K, 20 W., *Oneida* 30 K, & W. The monitor *Tecumseh* is blown up and nearly all lost.¹¹ This goes by flag of truce to Pensacola at once. I am unhurt.

Your loving Son.

P. F. Harrington

Will write at length soon. P. F. H.

V

P. S. Excuse haste in which I have written. I have not had time to say what I wish and of course have hurried. P. F. H.

U.S.S. Monongahela

Mobile Bay, August 7th, 1864

Dear Father,

I write to-day to give you an account of our great battle of Friday. We were underway at 5.30, and steamed into line.

¹⁰The *Atlanta* was a converted British steamship, the *Fingal*, which had been used in blockade-running. But with the effective closing up of the Savannah harbor and the bottling up of the *Fingal*, she was now rebuilt into the ironclad, *Atlanta*. In June, 1863, Lieutenant William A. Webb, now in command of the ironclad, attempted to do battle with the Union monitors, *Weehawken* and *Nahant*, but unfortunately the *Atlanta* ran aground and was forced to surrender. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (Repr.: New York, 1977), 638-644.

¹¹Farragut in a report on August 8, 1864 reported losses, excluding those of the *Tecumseh*, of 52 killed and 170 wounded. *Official Records*, 406-413.

J. Thomas Scharf cites Union losses, including those of the *Tecumseh* at 172 killed and 170 wounded. Later estimates placed the loss of the *Tecumseh* at 120 alone. Scharf places Confederate losses at 12 killed and 19 wounded. Scharf, *Confederate States Navy*, 573 and 573n.

A few minutes later we beat to quarters and hoisted the American ensign at Fore, Main, Mizzen, and Peak. At 7.7, the first gun was fired from Fort Morgan and was answered immediately from the *Brooklyn*. The shot & shell from over a hundred guns on each side were soon flying in the air. The first shot that struck this ship wounded our 1st Lieut. & Ex. Officer, Lieut. Roderick Prentiss, in both legs. The left one was amputated but he died in eighteen hours. A few minutes after that shot, the rebel ram *Tennessee* made for the *Hartford*. Seeing this we put our helm hard down and ran into him at full speed; but being encumbered with a gunboat alongside we did not hurt her. As she swept by us, her flag, already shot to pieces, was shot away. We thought she had surrendered and *we yelled*. We steamed by the Bay engaging Fort Gaines on our way. The rebel gunboats had taken refuge behind the fort (Morgan) except the *Selma*. She was followed by two of our vessels and captured. At 9.40 the fight was over and we were preparing to anchor when we saw the Rebel ram *Tennessee* hoist her battle flag and steam towards us. She made for this vessel. We steamed ahead at full speed to run her down. She fired a shotted gun at the *Hartford* in defiance. The Adm'l then signalled us to run her down. We ran into her at full speed but could not sink her while our steam is badly broken. We poured a broadside into her and then prepared to ram again. The "Lackawanna" then ran into her and afterwards gave her a broadside. Then the *Hartford*, glorious ship, ran alongside of her and fired her broadside while her guns almost touched the ram. The *Brooklyn* and two ironclads then followed. We shot away her smoke stack, all steergear, & everything we could get at. As we ran her down the second time, she fired two rifled shells into us, laying waste our berth deck and wounding several men. She finally surrendered to the fleet. This fight lasted an hour and was glorious. I went on board immediately after the fight to receive our share of prisoners. She was just as good as ever, but her steering gear being gone and chimney shot away so that steam was going down and her men being suffocated, she surrendered. The 15 in. guns of the ironclads crushed in her sides in one place. One man was blown to pieces by a shot striking him through the port. She is the best ram ever taken. Our loss is severe. This vessel had Lieut. Prentiss killed and

about ten wounded, three badly. The *Hartford* had 18 men killed and about 20 wounded, the Adm'l's Secretary, Higginbottom, being killed. The *Brooklyn* had 11 killed and 20 wounded. The *Richmond* had 5 or 6 killed and about 6 wounded. The *Oneida* had about 15 killed and 1515 [sic] wounded. Her boilers were shot through and scalded nearly all her engineers. The remaining vessels averaged about 8 or 10 each in killed & wounded. The *Tecumseh* was blown up by a torpedo and sank in two minutes with all on board except one Ensign and about 12 men.

Yesterday morning Fort Powell surrendered to us. This gives us free communication with the outside through Grant's Pass. Fort Gaines offered to surrender on terms today. The Adm'l said "unconditional" and they refused. We will have it in a week. The *Metacomet* took our wounded to Pensacola yesterday. She came in to-day. She went out by Fort Morgan under a flag of truce. The Admiral has thanked the officers and men of the fleet. By Genl. Order we performed Divine Service to-day in thanksgiving for so glorious a victory. We are in fine spirits, but mourn our loss greatly. Our loss will be nearly two hundred in killed & wounded. Besides these we lost Capt. T. A. M. Graven and about 90 officers and men in the *Tecumseh*. Admiral Buchanan,¹² the "Merrimack" man, was captured with the "Tennessee." His leg was broken and will probably be amputated. We have three officers and seventeen men prisoners aboard here. We shall glory in this battle to our dying hour. I am proud of the humble share I had in

¹²Franklin Buchanan (1800-1874), born in Baltimore, entered the U. S. Navy in 1815. In 1845 he was chosen by the Secretary of Navy to organize the Naval Academy, and he served as its first superintendent until 1847. He participated in the Mexican war and commanded Commodore Perry's flagship on his expedition to Japan. On the eve of the Civil War he was commandant of the Washington navy yard. With the attack on Massachusetts troops in Baltimore on April 19, 1861 Buchanan, believing that Maryland would secede, resigned his commission. But when Maryland made no such move, he asked to be reinstated in the navy, only to be refused. In the following September he entered the Confederate Navy and superintended the outfitting of the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads and commanded it on its first day's attack on the federal fleet. He was promoted to admiral in the Confederate Navy and was put in charge of the naval defense of Mobile. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1891), I, 428, and Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, Conn., 1977), 116.

it and shall always be proud that I had command of sixty of the bravest hearts in the world. I had made up my mind to do my duty. I ascribe my self possession to the resolution. I had not an extra heart-throb, except when success dawned and then I felt such pride and such a-good-all-over-feeling-that I wonder I did not go up in the smoke. I'll go through a dozen battles to feel that way again. You will read the paper accounts and with this letter get an *idea* of the fight. No one who did not see it will ever fully appreciate it. During the battle, the wildest yet controlled enthusiasm prevailed. Officers and men were alike roused to glory. Prentiss remarked as he was carried forward, "It is only both legs, Back", and a smile lit up his countenance at his sorry joke. Hearing cheering on deck, he cheered the flag, *while the knife was cutting him*. He was married four months ago. I could, but cannot for want of time, write you incidents without number of heroism, coolness, & noble courage. Our captain has made no distinction but recommends every officer and man in the highest terms.

Love to Mother and all the family. Send me *stamps* and also a *good lot* of *note paper* & envelopes to match. I am *entirely out*. Send price & I will refund.

Your loving Son,
P. F. Harrington

VI

U.S.S. Monongahela
Mobile Bay, La. [*sic*]
Agu. 18th, 1864

Dear Sam,

I was refreshed to-day with your letter and papers and letters from Father, Dick,¹³ and an old classmate, Chadwick of the 1st Class at the Academy. I have rec'd but one letter

¹³Richard Harrington (1847-1884), brother of Purnell Frederick, was a graduate of Georgetown College and studied law under Nathaniel B. Smithers. He was admitted to the bar, and in the early 1870's he was a prominent lawyer in Washington.

before since I came down and was anxious to hear from you. I hasten to write again to you. You have read before this the newspaper accounts of our great fight, the most glorious but terrible of the war. This vessel was a *star* performer, second to no one. On Friday, Aug. 5th at 4 A. M. I took the deck of this vessel and prepared to steam in. At 5:30, we were underway and Capt. Strong took the deck. I then went to my Division. We steamed in in three lines, thus;—

Octorara	Brooklyn	Tecumseh	Rebel Ram
Metacomet	Hartford	Manhattan	Fort Morgan
Port Royal	Richmond		
Seminole	Lackawanna		
Kennebeck	Monongahela	Winnebago	
Itasca	Ossipee		
Galena	Oneida	Chickasaw	

The four iron-clads stood in under the fort till within 200 yards. The second line passed the fort at a distance of 400 or 500 yards. The outer line, the *Octorara* and vessels under, were lashed on the port-side of the centre line, as I have arranged them on the preceding page. At 6.25 the *Chickasaw* fired a gun at the fort. As 7. the battle opened with a gun from the fort answered at once by the Brooklyn. In a few minutes over 100 guns on each side were at work. Shot, shell, and grape flew as thick as apples fall from a tree in a hurricane. I had command of one XI inch gun, from which I fired shells weighing 135 pounds and solid shot of 187 pounds, also two 32 pounders and two 24 pound howitzers. One of my 32's was worked by Acting Ensign and gun's crew from the *Kennebeck* under my direction. At 8, a solid shot struck our Ex. Officer, Lieut. Roderick Prentiss. He died soon after. At 8.10, the *Tecumseh* was blown up by a torpedo and sunk with all on board except one Acting Master, one Acting Ensign and twelve or fourteen men. At 8.15, the Rebel Ram *Tennessee* was seen to steam for the *Lackawanna*, the vessel ahead of us, to run her down. We put on *all* steam and ran into her. We saved the *Lackawanna*. As we approached her she *snapped* two heavy guns at us twice. Had they gone off our slaughter would have been fearful. Encumbered with a heavy gunboat, we were not able to get much way on her. We struck her a light blow and as she swept down by our port side, one of the guns which had refused to go off into us was fired into the *Kennebeck* and after killing

several men set her on fire. We then cast off from the *Kennebeck* and left her. As the ram passed our quarter, her flag, already shot to pieces, was shot away. We thought she had surrendered and we yelled. Several vessels refrained from firing into her. We passed on through shot and shell, our gunboats pursuing the rebel gunboats which were now steaming up the Bay. At a little after 9, we had passed Fort Gaines on the left and were preparing to anchor, when the ram which had dropped under the guns of Fort Morgan was seen coming up the bay. She fired a challenge shot at the *Hartford* and the gage was received and returned. Before she fired this ship *was going* and had the honor of leading the way into her. We struck her a terrible blow while going at the rate of *12 knots*. The shock was very great. I thought we should lose all our masts. She fired two heavy shells into us just before we struck her. Fortunately they burst forward and wounded only three men. Had they come further aft, we should have lost fearfully. Our heavy stern is all torn away and we leak very much. The *Lackawanna* rammed her next. Then our glorious *Hartford* poured into a broadside while her guns almost touched the ram. This vessel & the *Hartford* had their sides burned by *powder* from the ram's guns. After the *Hartford*, the *Brooklyn*, *Ossipee*, and ironclads made for her. No vessel except this one & the *Lackawanna* rammed her. The *Ossipee* started for her but stopped on seeing the white flag. She surrendered at 10.15 A. M. three hours and fifteen minutes after the battle commenced. When she surrendered we were steaming for her at *13 knots* speed. Had we struck her we would have sunk at once as we were already leaking. Altogether it was a desperate and plucky fight on both sides. The report shows that she was struck *only by one* 15 inch shot. So the honor of capturing the finest ram ever built and the finest ironclad ever built belongs *almost* exclusively to wooden ships. The presence of ironclads did some good I suppose. Immediately after the fight, I went on board the ram. She is like the *Atlanta* but twice as powerful. Her gun deck was flesh and gore. She threw some of her dead overboard in order to make it appear that she had few hurt. All her steering gear & smoke pipe was shot away. Adm'l Buchanan, *Merrimack* man, had his leg broken and was captured. Our loss is severe, it will reach 300 killed & wounded. On the night of August 5th, Fort Powell was evacuated and

occupied next morn. by our men. On the 8th Fort Gaines surrendered to the *Navy*. They refused to surrender to the Army & Navy but sent 26 swords to the Flagship. Next day we landed 2000 troops in rear of Fort Morgan. I went in command of three boats. We have invested it completely. On Monday over a hundred guns will open on the fort & fire till it surrenders. We have free communication with the outside but cannot go out as we draw too much water. The large vessels must go under Fort Morgan to go out. Our small vessels go out through Grants Pass. My paper is all gone. I have written to Father to send me some. If you see him tell him not to forget. Please send this to Dick as I have not paper to spare in writing to him. I rec'd a letter from him today. I will examine the muster roll of this vessel & inform you if I find any Delaware men. I suppose Dick & Arthur are home again. Remember me to all. Tell Arthur I want to hear from him.

I remain,

Your affte, Brother,

P. F. Harrington

A CHANGING OF THE GUARD: JOSEPH C. MANNING AND POPULIST STRATEGY IN THE FALL OF 1894

by

Paul Pruitt, Jr.

Joseph C. Manning swept among the farmers of Alabama in the spring of 1892, fresh from Populist training in Tom Watson's Georgia.¹ An authentic boy wonder at twenty-two, Manning preached "the gospel of human brotherhood" so zealously that he was known as "the Evangel." Above all he was a crusader who persuaded members of the Farmer's Alliance to assert themselves and cast off the political tyranny of a coordinated Democratic oligarchy.² Manning's father was a merchant, lien-lord, Democratic office-holder, and Methodist preacher in Clay County; so Manning, a young rebel, understood how thoroughly connected and controlled rural institutions could be.³ As the representative of an intersectional mass movement and successor to the Alliance lecturers who had gone before him, this "beardless" orator brought hope to men and women cut off from the most basic democratic culture:

Members of the People's Party should at all times be ready and willing to give a reason for the faith that is in them . . . Such a principle is the sovereignty of the people, that the people should be absolute rulers of their own destinies.⁴

Manning never achieved a sophisticated grasp of "greenback" or Populist economics, though he was loyal to the Omaha Plat-

¹Joseph C. Manning, *From Five to Twenty-Five, His Early Life as Recalled by Joseph Columbus Manning* (New York, 1929), 24-33. Cited hereafter as Manning, *Five to Twenty-Five*. Also see Jerrell H. Shofner and William W. Rogers, "Joseph C. Manning: Militant Agrarian, Enduring Populist," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Spring and Summer, 1967, 7-37.

²Dadeville *Tallapoosa New Era*, April 21, 28, 1892; and Rockford *Coosa Advocate*, April 21, 1892. Also see Manning, *Five to Twenty-Five*, 42.

³Clay County Probate records reveal the elder Manning's status. In particular see Direct and Reverse Index to Deeds, Books A-E, and Deed-Mortgage Record Books G-I. For the Methodist history of Clay County, see registers and minute-books on file at the Ashland United Methodist Church.

⁴Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, March 2, 1894.

form throughout strenuous "campaigns of education." From a myriad of back country stumps, J. C. Manning almost single-handedly fashioned a working People's Party in Alabama.⁵

The People's Party in Alabama was secondary in importance among reform parties, however, to the Jeffersonian Democracy of Reuben F. Kolb. As State Commissioner of Agriculture (1887-1891), the magnetic Kolb had built up a personal following.⁶ One opponent claimed that some farmers would vote for Kolb "if he was to steal a sheep and they even saw him do it."⁷ Thwarted in his gubernatorial ambitions by Bourbons in control of the Democratic party machinery, Kolb led a number of "simon-pure Jeffersonian Democrats" into a species of political limbo in 1892.⁸ His supporters, still trapped in provincial loyalties, could not bear to move openly into the camp of the Populists or the Republicans; yet they joined with them in the war against Democratic machine rule. In the words of party member Frank Baltzell, editor of the influential *Montgomery Alliance Herald*, the Jeffersonians were "those who have studied only state affairs."⁹ Where economic matters were concerned, most of the Jeffersonians clung to the relative conservatism of "free silver" demands, despite the efforts of Baltzell and a handful of radical editors to make them understand fiat money theory.¹⁰ Still, the "Jeffs" commanded a majority of the hill country whites who might some day take the final step into genuine Populism; so Manning and other Populist leaders "boomed" for Kolb, capitalizing upon his popularity.¹¹

⁵Rockford *Coosa Advocate*, April 28, May 5, 1892; *Montgomery Alliance Herald*, November 11, December 7, 1893; *Ashland People's Party Advocate*, March 2, April 20, December 7, 1894.

⁶William W. Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion, Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 115-120, 161-162, 167-185. Hereafter cited as Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*.

⁷Dr. Robert Leslie to Captain Harry Jones, n.d., 1892, in the Thomas Goode Jones Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

⁸Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 203, 209-213.

⁹*Ibid.*, 190; *Montgomery Alliance Herald*, November 11, 1893.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, May 14, 1891, April 26, 1894. Also see Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America* (New York, 1976), 314, 323, 406. Hereafter cited as Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*.

¹¹Manning wrote and printed at his own expense a pamphlet, *Politics of Alabama* (Birmingham, 1893), which was used as a campaign document for Kolb in 1894.

In 1892 Kolb lost to Governor Thomas G. Jones by a meagre 10,000 votes, in an election marred by massive Democratic frauds.¹² In 1894 "the Genial Reuben" waged a tumultuous campaign of vindication against William Calvin Oates, the "archetypal Bourbon leader."¹³ The People's Party backed the Jeffersonian nominee, but not happily. James M. Whitehead, the one-legged "straightout" Populist who edited the Greenville *Living Truth*, exchanged broadsides with Frank Baltzell over the foolishness of fielding two reform parties.¹⁴ Manning, who won election to the legislature from Clay County, worried that the People's Party would be "considered a faction or tail to the kite of the Jeffersonians." The Evangel sensed that principles and a crucial element of public involvement were slipping into the background of personal and political maneuverings:

The people do not care about the name; they now want the substance. . . . If we need anything, it is a people's party — a party of and for the people.¹⁵

The state elections of August 6, 1894, were disastrous to the anti-Democratic cause in Alabama. For all the efforts of Jeffersonians, Populists, and Republicans, Kolb polled fewer official votes than before, while Oates won with the usual Black Belt majorities.¹⁶ True, more than forty reformists were elected to the state house and senate, but many thought that in a fair

¹²The official count was Jones, 126,952 to Kolb, 115,524. In fifteen "Black Belt" counties Jones' margin was 30,217 votes, almost three times his total majority. Kolb almost certainly received a majority of the legally cast votes, but Alabama law did not provide for a contest of the election. Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 221-222. For contemporary evidence of fraud, see Chappell Cory to T. G. Jones, August 14, 1892; J. P. Speer to T. G. Jones, August 22, 1892; and J. D. Nix to T. G. Jones, September 10, 1892, in the Jones Papers.

¹³Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 276-283.

¹⁴Montgomery *Alliance Herald*, November 24, 1893.

¹⁵Butler *Choctaw Alliance*, January 24, 1894; Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, June 8, 15, 29; July 6, 13, 27, August 10, 1894. See also J. C. Manning to Ignatius Donnelly, March 13, 19, 1894, in the Ignatius Donnelly Papers, The Minnesota Historical Society. Manning confided to Donnelly that he was seeking means to "command the Jeffersonians," some of whom, he knew, "have no sympathy with the People's Party as a national movement."

¹⁶The official count was Oates, 111,875 to Kolb, 83,292. In addition to stuffed ballot boxes in the Black Belt, the difficult registration procedures of the Sayre Election Law, passed in 1893, effectively disfranchised many farmers and helped defeat Kolb. Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 237-241, 281-285.

election the "Kolbites" would have controlled the hundred-member House at least.¹⁷ The shock of such a thorough if The determined agrarians, however, recovered quickly enough dubious defeat was simultaneously paralysing and infuriating. to make two quick, ineffectual attempts at revolutionary retaliation.

One new departure was plotted by Kolb and Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire. On August 10 Chandler, who had been a major proponent of the Lodge "Force Bill," introduced a resolution of inquiry concerning the Alabama elections. In particular, Chandler wanted to know if the new legislature was a freely elected, constitutional body competent to choose a United States senator — since John T. Morgan, a strong Democrat, was coming up for re-election.¹⁸ Two years earlier Frank Baltzell had suggested that Congress determine whether Alabama had "a republican form of government."¹⁹ Now Kolb, Jeffersonian chairman Albert T. Goodwyn, and campaign committee chairman W. H. Skaggs openly endorsed Baltzell's plan, despite warnings from conservative friends.²⁰ Manning and his Clay County radicals further endorsed this Jeffersonian move away from a states' rights point of view by suggesting the passage of a national election law.²¹ But Chandler's resolution made no progress in the Democratic Fifty-third Congress. The Fifty-fourth Congress, generally expected to be Republican, would not meet for over a year, and it seemed

¹⁷R. F. Kolb to W. E. Chandler, August 20, 1894, in the William E. Chandler Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, August 20, September 24, 1894, and *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 11, 1894. The "Force Bill," or Federal Elections Bill of 1890 would have provided for federal supervision of state elections under certain conditions. The measure failed to pass in the Senate, and is considered to be the last serious effort made by national Republican leaders to protect the civil rights of Southern blacks. For relevant information see Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 50, 184, 214 and Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*, 227.

¹⁹Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 228, 229-230.

²⁰Frank Baltzell to W. E. Chandler, November 26, 1894, in the Chandler Papers, and *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 24, 1894. For a conservative warning see Robert McKee to A. T. Goodwyn, August 15, 1894, in the Robert McKee Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

²¹Joshua Franklin to W. E. Chandler, August 29, 1894, and J. C. Manning to W. E. Chandler, April 6, 1896, in the Chandler Papers. Also see Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, August 24, 31, 1894.

that some speedier action was in order.²²

A second, more revolutionary course was to disregard the official ballot count. This alternative speedily suggested itself to Reuben F. Kolb and his lieutenants, who were certainly not thoughtless incendiaries; by the late summer of 1894 many reformers were prepared to consider backing an insurrectionary "de jure" government.²³ Since the question was obviously controversial, Skaggs' Central Campaign Committee decided to test the public temper. Mass indignation meetings were planned for August 23, at which militant "law and order leagues" were to be formed.²⁴ Though agrarian leaders counseled against lawlessness, there is no doubt that the leagues could have functioned as a revolutionary army had popular sentiment justified violent action. Manning helped draw up plans for the public meetings, then left for a scheduled address before the Texas Farmer's Alliance. On August 22 at Grandview, Texas, he showed the desperate fury which gripped a broad spectrum of agrarian leaders immediately after the election. The *Galveston News* reported that the Evangel said of Kolb: "We will seat him if we have to wade in blood." When some level-headed individual reminded him that Grover Cleveland might send troops, Manning spat out an original profanity: "Cleveland can to to the damn Democratic Party." Catching the quixotic spirit of the speech, excited Lone Star Alliancemen offered the young man 200,000 Texans to help seat Kolb.²⁵

When Manning returned to Alabama, the tentative revolution was in ruins. Most counties held no meetings, and outraged public sentiment hid its head.²⁶ The timidity of the hill country yeomen shocked and sobered reformers of all parties. Populists like J. M. Whitehead began to make sense when they argued

²²Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, August 31, September 7, 1894. For the prospects of the 54th Congress, see *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 26, November 8, 1894.

²³Reuben F. Kolb to W. E. Chandler, September 24, 1894, in the Chandler Papers.

²⁴Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, August 10, 17, 1894, and *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 9, 10, 16, 19, 1894.

²⁵Galveston *News*, quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 24, 1894.

²⁶*Montgomery Advertiser*, August 24, 1894, *Butler Choctaw Alliance*, August 29, 1894, and *Ashland People's Party Advocate*, August 31, September 7, 1894. On the other hand, the rallies made it clear that reformers all over Alabama favored the idea of a congressional investigation. Chandler's resolution was endorsed in Calhoun, Clay, Conecuh, Elmore, Jefferson, Montgomery and Pike Counties.

that poverty-stricken farmers feared the consequences of a "war." The countryside, according to Whitehead, could not support a rebel force, nor could penniless volunteers stand up to state and federal troops.²⁷ There was little for Manning to do but plunge into the work of electing reform candidates to Congress. He toured eastern Alabama for two friends, A. T. Goodwyn of the 5th district and W. C. Robinson of the 3rd district. Since both men were pacifically inclined Jeffersonians, no doubt they helped quench the Evangel's thirst for blood.²⁸

After the disappointments of August, Joseph Manning was alert to the need for a workable reformist strategy. As he faced the people, the conviction grew in him that local agrarian initiative had suffered under the leadership of Reuben Kolb. Soon Manning was working to build up enthusiasm and broader intellectual horizons among the "suppressed and repressed" electorate. He emphasized his own variety of Populist economics, and his contention that "human rights are vested rights" was calculated to raise the consciousness of toilers who were "bonded slaves" on the land and at the polls.²⁹ "Under a proper distributive system," Manning wrote for the Clay County *People's Party Advocate*, "no man who works should be poor. Labor produces all wealth. Labor should enjoy what it produces."³⁰ Mingled with his economic argument was the vision on an aggressive working-class solidarity:

True socialism asserts that . . . the world is one great family. 'An injury to one is the concern of all.' The masses begin to 'catch on' and understand this question. What a laborer produces or earns by his labor belongs to him. To take it from him without giving him an equivalent is to rob him.³¹

While Manning employed an ideological approach, certain

²⁷Montgomery *Advertiser*, August 23, 1894, quoting Greenville *Living Truth*. See also Robert McKee to W. H. Skaggs, February 18, 1894, in the McKee Papers.

²⁸Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, October 5, November 2, 1894, and Montgomery *Advertiser*, October 19, 23, 25, 1894.

²⁹Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, July 18, September 14, 1894, and Manning *Five To Twenty-Five*, 38-39.

³⁰Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, September 14, 1894.

³¹*Ibid.*, November 9, 1894.

Jeffersonians still worked toward a "revolution" on behalf of Reuben Kolb, whatever the consequences. As early as August 18, a correspondent of Governor Jones revealed the pathetic determination of Kolb's hard core supporters. "Some of them," he wrote, "is saving eggs to sell to seat Kolb."³² On September 27, the Jeffersonian and Populist chairmen arranged for a general convention in Montgomery on November 12, one day before the legislature was to convene and less than a week after the congressional elections were to take place.³³ Clearly, if the congressional elections saw the commission of yet more outrageous frauds, angry men might be able to talk the convention into supporting what was referred to as "dual government." Fanatical Kolbites like Grattan B. Crowe of Perry County were busily trying to find men willing to stand by the "Governor," and Kolb's new Birmingham *People's Tribune* did nothing to discourage such activity.³⁴ Manning, on the other hand, was one of a majority of Populists and Jeffersonians who had perceived the futility of violence. The Evangel had founded his work anew on more nearly Populist principles, and shortly after the convention was announced, he made a Populist decision. In mid-October, in a major letter to the Butler *Choctaw Alliance*, he attacked the Jeffersonian Democrats and questioned the leadership of Reuben F. Kolb.³⁵

Manning began his letter by invoking the name of his old mentor, Tom Watson, whose Georgia People's Party had recently made "wonderful progress" in reducing Democratic majorities. Watson's pure, flamboyant Populism, he said, made recruits for "the only political party in America that is the avowed friend of the producer and the fearless enemy of the absorber."³⁶ Watson's achievements commanded favorable "comment from the press in the East," an important point for Alabama reformers, who had to rely on the good will of northern Republicans if W. E. Chandler's resolution were ever to

³²M. M. McAliley to T. G. Jones, August 18, 1894, Box 33, Official Governors' Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

³³Montgomery *Advertiser*, September 28, 1894.

³⁴Ozark *Banner-Advertiser*, November 21, 1895; Birmingham *People's Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1894.

³⁵Butler *Choctaw Alliance*, October 17, 1894.

³⁶*Ibid.*

pass.³⁷ There was in these considerations, as Manning later said, "something here of practical politics."³⁸ But he was after more than just political advantage.

Politically and morally, Joseph Manning was sanguine about the future of the People's Party movement. From the heights of his determination, he soon laid down the law to the Jeffersonians:

Factions and local contests and organizations soon lose their cast and sentiment. They hurridly [*sic*] pass away. The People's Party is founded on the lasting rock of substantial justice, and the sooner a contest is made squarely upon its eternal principles, the better for those seeking true reformation. A free ballot and an honest count is demanded, but is it not better to make the next contest on principles?³⁹

No man resented the Democratic practice of ballot fraud more passionately than Joseph Manning. But now he was advising his more conservative allies that a reform movement, if it is to be successful, must have a positive program; in the long run the cry of fraud was not enough.⁴⁰ He now believed a mighty work of public education would surely go far toward securing justice at the ballot box. "Convert the people to our doctrines," Manning wrote, and let them see "that the enactment of the principles we advocate into law means relief from oppression, and then they will feel the necessity of throwing out fraud in elections."⁴¹

Quickly the young reformer closed in for the kill. Urging that future contests be made "on a higher and broader plane," he daringly blamed Alabama's leading agrarian for past defeats: "We have had enough of Jeffersonian Democracy,

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Ozark *Banner-Advertiser*, September 26, 1895.

³⁹Butler *Choctaw Alliance*, October 17, 1894.

⁴⁰Manning, *Five to Twenty-Five*, 68-72. Also see J. C. Manning to H. D. Lloyd, March 5, 23, 1895, in the Henry Demarest Lloyd papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁴¹Butler *Choctaw Alliance*. October 17, 1894.

Kolbism, and personal and factional contests."⁴² The die was cast, and Manning ended his letter with a rousing appeal for unity within the People's Party:

If you are a Populist, don't be ashamed to unfurl its banner and thank God that you are with the common people. Clear the deck of the [reform] 'Conglomeration.' Organize for a straight, bold, and fearless 'Georgia campaign' for the future.⁴³

Coupled with the efforts of reformers to secure a senate investigation, Manning's proposals opened up a sophisticated strategy. If the agrarian parties could unite upon common principles while working for effective federal regulation of elections, a remarkable balance between purity and practicality would be the result. As Manning explained in a press interview, a Populist senator from Alabama could be seated if widespread fraud were proved and Republican assistance marshalled.⁴⁴ He was convinced that these developments would destroy the profitability of Democratic fraud in Alabama. Also he understood that no Populist ends would be served by violence. Indeed, the Evangel claimed that the Democrats, by laying violent hands upon the ballot box, had themselves become the party of revolution. True patriots, he felt, must work ceaselessly and peaceably to turn public opinion against the Bourbon machines.⁴⁵

Manning's plan evolved as an intricate incorporation of "fusionist" and "middle-of-the-road" elements.⁴⁶ Other Populists had called for agrarian unity, but none with such a sweeping challenge at so critical a moment. Apparently Manning seized the right time and tone, for he commanded a firm majority at the November 12 convention. To begin with, he was

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Butler *Choctaw Herald*, December 12, 1894. Also J. C. Manning, *The Fadeout of Populism: Pot and Kettle in Combat* (New York, 1928), 22, 35-36. Cited hereafter as Manning, *Fadeout of Populism*.

⁴⁵Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, February 1, 1895, and Ozark *Banner-Advertiser*, August 29, 1895.

⁴⁶"Fusion" refers to the union or cooperation of two political parties. "Middle-of-the-Road" or "Midroad" Populists, on the other hand, made no political or ideological concessions to either of the "old parties." See Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*, 426.

supported nicely, sometimes rather automatically, by the Populist rank and file. This occurrence may be explained in part by the Evangel's having toured extensively on behalf of reformist congressional candidates during the period when local meetings chose convention delegates. Accordingly, he inspired a rare degree of unanimity among Alabama Populists.⁴⁷ It is more difficult, however, to speculate upon the motives of an influential group of Jeffersonian leaders who supported Manning against the founder of their party.

Reuben Kolb's courage and enterprise loomed over the brief history of the Jeffersonian Democrats, but his actions sometimes caused even close supporters to doubt his wisdom. Frank Baltzell, whose hard-hitting *Alliance Herald* had recently folded, was left "high and dry" when Kolb hired the moderate Democrat John W. DuBose to edit a new journal, the *People's Tribune*.⁴⁸ Shortly after the August elections, A. T. Goodwyn had quarreled with Kolb over the question of whether or not violence was justified against W. C. Oates' administration. On August 23 Goodwyn had warned the Elmore County indignation meeting that they must look to aid from the federal government as an alternative to horrible civil strife.⁴⁹ It is difficult to pinpoint the origins of a feeling, but by November some men quite close to Kolb had decided, as an astute Talladega woman believed, that he "might be led to do certain things . . . which his genuine better feelings would regret."⁵⁰ W. H. Skaggs, for example, had expressed grave doubts about Kolb as early as the winter of 1893-1894. Trying in vain to enlist the eminent journalist Robert McKee in a newspaper project, Skaggs finally pleaded with him to work for the sake of principle: "It was decided between us that while Captain Kolb was unfortunately the candidate, he was a mere incident to the issue."⁵¹ Kolb probably

⁴⁷Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, October 5, November 2, 1894. For examples of Manning's numerous reform contacts, see the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 19, 1895.

⁴⁸Montgomery *Advertiser*, August 31, September 12, 1894; also Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 256-257.

⁴⁹Montgomery *Advertiser*, August 24, December 1, 1894, and Butler *Choctaw Herald*, December 12, 26, 1894; see also Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, December 14, 1895.

⁵⁰Georgia C. McElderry to John W. DuBose, March 17, 1897, in the John W. DuBose Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

⁵¹W. H. Skaggs to Robert McKee, March 19, 1894, in the McKee Papers.

knew that these lieutenants were wavering, for early in November he declared that he would never be a candidate again.⁵² He did not, however, abandon his claims to the statehouse.

A. T. Goodwyn, W. H. Skaggs, Frank Baltzell, and even Kolb's good friend P. G. Bowman supported Manning's leadership on November 12. Though each of these men had his own motives and ambitions, all were fearful of the consequences of an abortive rebellion. In addition, feelings of sheer desperation over repeated Democratic frauds may have created a willingness among Jeffersonians (including Kolb) to merge with a militant national party and cast off the dishonored name "Democrat." In any event, Manning probably would not have succeeded without the help of his Jeffersonian allies.

When the great day came, about 250 delegates and several hundred sympathetic spectators thronged into "The Montgomery Theatre." The congressional elections had come off with a flurry of stuffed ballots, and though the *People's Tribune* claimed victory for the coalition candidates, only M. W. Howard of the 7th district won on the face of the returns.⁵³ The convention itself quickly boiled down to a contest of rival emotions and timing. Grattan B. Crowe, and to a lesser extent Kolb, relied on the power of righteous wrath to sweep the meeting toward establishing a "legitimate" government. Manning and his allies stressed the necessity for peace and the possibilities inherent in unity. During the sessions the Populist side captured the initiative.

At 10:30 a.m. Jeffersonian Chairman Albert T. Goodwyn pounded the gavel and "emphasized that the convention was a "deliberative," not a constitutional body."⁵⁴ With this reminder to Grattan B. Crowe and his contingent, Goodwyn called several speakers to the podium, each of whom recounted some aspects of the August and November elections. Soon a committee

⁵²Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 4, 1894.

⁵³Birmingham *People's Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1894. Eventually three more reform candidates were seated: Populist A. T. Goodwyn of the 5th district, and Republicans W. F. Aldrich of the 4th district and T. H. Aldrich of the 9th district. Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 287-289.

⁵⁴Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 13, 1894, and Eufaula *Times and News*, November 15, 1894.

well stocked with Populists and "pacifists" was appointed to prepare resolutions. As the committee retired, "loud cries" arose for "Evangel Manning."⁵⁵ Either by accident or careful stagemanaging, the young orator took the platform at a pregnant moment. He stood before a gathering which was torn between caution and fury. If he made the right speech now, he could determine the course of the convention.

The Evangel started awkwardly, respectfully praising Kolb and telling a few campaign jokes. But after the obligatory compliments, Manning pointed out some basic facts to those absorbed with the "Governor's" wrongs. In less than diplomatic tones, he discussed the price they had paid for keeping the reform movement divided and subservient to one man's candidacy:

If you think that this is Kolb's movement, you are mistaken. It is as much ours as it is his. If the people of Alabama could have realized this, as Kolb has, he would have been governor of Alabama today.⁵⁶

After this slap at the very nature of Kolb's last campaign, Manning answered a shout from the floor — "Let us declare him governor!" — with a dignified warmth which atoned for the rashness of his earlier speech in Texas:

Let us be conservative. . . . Let me tell the people that we realize there is an element in our party clamoring to seat the rightfully elected governor by force, but this is not what we desire. . . . We do not want the fathers of little children in Alabama today to have their blood spilt as dewdrops on the violets, but we want these fathers to live and pray and vote right, and persuade the people of Alabama to vote right.⁵⁷

⁵⁵The committee was announced by the chair, and included J. M. Whitehead of the *Living Truth*; Rev. S. M. Adams, past president of the Farmer's Alliance; and J. L. Pitts, Populist executive chairman. *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 13, 1894.

⁵⁶*Ibid.* See also *Livingston Journal*, November 16, 1894.

⁵⁷*Montgomery Advertiser*, November 13, 1894; see also *Ashland People's Party Advocate*, December 7, 1894, quoting the *Montgomery Evening Journal*.

M. W. Whatley of Clay County spoke next, and the non-violent group seemed to be in command. Kolb himself delayed his appearance until 1:00 p.m., when "Mr. Manning of Clay demanded that the convention should see the Governor of Alabama."⁵⁸

At this juncture, Kolb made a powerful speech in an effort to rally the convention to his cause. He was determined — "I intend to stay with you until hell freezes over, and then I will tackle them a while on the ice" — but he was dignified and conciliatory to the Populists.⁵⁹ He wanted very much to be governor, but under the circumstances he balanced that fact neatly with concessions:

I want to emphasize that which Mr. Manning has said, that it was not Kolb in this fight. . . . My individuality did not enter into it at all. . . . It was the people of Alabama who raised up in their majesty and . . . twice elected me governor of this state.⁶⁰

"The Genial Reuben," who had flooded the state with agents "working up a strong feeling in my behalf" as early as 1889, would not give up easily.⁶¹ He *had* given Manning a chance to keep the momentum, however, and during the afternoon session the Populist leader played his own emotional trump cards. No one took down Manning's successful speech for unification, but it is likely that the youthful Clay Countian stressed quasi-religious themes of unity and brotherhood, ending with an affirmation of Populist faith similar to that which he had made before a joint convention in February of 1894: "We are one and the same people, and together we will have the same God and whip the world, flesh and the devil." One journalist wrote that "amid great applause, Mr. Manning made a speech which set his auditors wild," and the convention voted for a union of the two agrarian parties.⁶²

⁵⁸Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 13, 1894.

⁵⁹Kolb is quoted in Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 290.

⁶⁰Eufaula *Times and News*, November 15, 1894.

⁶¹R. F. Kolb to Leonidas L. Polk, June 6, 1889, in the Leonidas L. Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁶²Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, December 7, 1894, quoting the *Montgomery Evening Journal*. None of the extant accounts refer to the size or manner of taking this vote, except to state that it was enthusiastically done.

After this triumph, the Populists "worked" the situation in a manner which hints at prearrangement. A host of speakers jumped to their feet and testified for "amalgamation." The most interesting was J. L. Hosey of Calhoun County, who "came to the convention to represent the agricultural population, and was instructed to follow the footprints of Manning and Tom Watson."⁶³ After more "glad tidings," Joseph Manning, in a truly evangelical move, offered "the hymn for the praise service":

All hail the power of the people's name,
Let the ballot-stuffers prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown the people sovereign all.⁶⁴

Although the Populists had triumphed so far, they still had to deal with the irrepressible *enrage* Grattan B. Crowe. "The proper course for us to pursue," said Kolb's chief of militia, "is to take this government and run it."⁶⁵ Crowe was an eloquent speaker, but he had missed the crucial psychological moment by waiting until unification was an accomplished fact, possibly not realizing that peace and Populism were bound together. Moreover he betrayed himself by his own excesses. In his dreams, he related, "the angel of the lord" had "wiped these tarred holes off the face of the earth. There was not a block left in Montgomery or Selma."⁶⁶ After Crowe had spoken, the convention pushed ahead to choose an executive committee for the reorganized People's Party. Interestingly, the Jeffersonian financial radical, Samuel M. Adams, was made chairman and Manning was picked for member-at-large.⁶⁷

At the evening session W. H. Skaggs reported for the resolutions committee. The convention agreed that evidences of fraud should be distributed in a nationwide campaign of publicity. Massive petitions for restoration of republican government should likewise be sent to Congress. Locally, Populists

⁶³Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 13, 1894.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Ibid.* See also Eufaula *Times and News*, November 15, 1894.

⁶⁶Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 13, 1894.

⁶⁷Dadeville *Tallapoosa New Era*, April 25, May 16, 1895, and Anniston *Alabama Leader*, March 19, 1896.

should work for a fair contest law but take no overt action against the Oates administration, unless their just demands were ignored. With the power of state and federal troops against them, Skaggs argued, it was useless to establish a government which could not stand. The convention approved Skaggs' resolutions and propositions, evidently by voice vote, and so opened a broader field for the agrarian movement in Alabama.⁶⁸

The triumph was far from complete. While Skaggs was reporting, Crowe and an important minority of delegates listened in "sullen silence," convinced that the resolutions were a betrayal.⁶⁹ These men were not satisfied, and neither was Kolb. After the legislature convened, the latter demanded his rights and, following a series of heated caucuses, was "inaugurated" by a Justice of the Peace on December 1, a few hours before W. C. Oates was sworn in. On that day Joseph Manning, Warren S. Reese, Jr., of Montgomery, and other moderates assembled at the top of Dexter Avenue together with Kolb, Crowe, and perhaps 200 followers in a courageous demonstration before the massed troops of the state.⁷⁰ Denied access to the capitol steps, Kolb spoke from the bed of a wagon drawn up in the street. He had hesitated until Manning spoke up, probably in an exquisitely ironical tone: "Go ahead Captain, they may kill you but you will go down . . . as a martyr to the Populistic cause."⁷¹ Facing the tangible array of Democratic power, Kolb advised his followers to act peaceably, but not to pay taxes to a fraudulent administration.⁷²

The ceremonies of December 1 ushered in an awkward period in which Populist leaders participated in the constituted state government without being able to ignore the "Governor's" pronouncements. Kolb was sometimes at odds with Manning, Goodwyn, and the Populist legislative caucus, and as a matter of fact remained open to proposals of violent action until a

⁶⁸Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 13, 1894. Again, no reliable information exists as to the nature of this vote.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, December 2, 1894; see particularly Warren S. Reese to J. C. Manning, December 2, 1927, in Manning, *Fadeout of Populism*, 142-144.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 143.

⁷²Montgomery *Advertiser*, December 2, 1894.

Populist conference of March, 1895.⁷³ Sorely tried and frustrated, Kolb diverted reformist energies from the new departures of November, 1894.

In a larger sense Manning and the Populist unifiers were doomed to defeat from the start. The ideological weakness of the reform movement in Alabama, which drove Manning into a new campaign of education, left the reorganized People's Party vulnerable to the free silver craze. The radical "greenback" theories common to Texas and Georgia Populists never won complete acceptance in Alabama, especially among ex-Jeffersonians such as A. T. Goodwyn, who became the Populist-Republican "cooperation" candidate for governor in 1896.⁷⁴ Thus Joseph F. Johnston, a silver Democrat who captured the gubernatorial nomination of his party after a well-financed drive of two years' duration, posed a serious threat to Populist unity. When Johnston promised fair elections and invited Populists to return to the "fold," a number of them took him at his word.⁷⁵ In the meantime, Joseph Manning had toured the nation on behalf of ballot reform — the one issue which he felt would unify southern reformers and at the same time interest northern Republicans.⁷⁶ A number of Populists, including J. M. Whitehead and Philander Morgan of Talladega, objected to Manning's capitulation, as they termed it, to state and national Republicanism; the consequent division of Alabama Populism into factions weakened the party before the onslaughts of the silver Democracy.⁷⁷

The two years following his November triumph were years of failure for Manning and for the People's Party. In May, 1896, his hopes for a senate investigation of Alabama politics

⁷³Raleigh, North Carolina *Daily Caucasian*, March 13, 1895, and Ozark *Banner-Advertiser*, March 21, 28, 1895.

⁷⁴Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 309, and Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*, 406, 672 f.n. 22. See also Raleigh, North Carolina *Weekly Caucasian*, July 11, 1895.

⁷⁵Dadeville *Tallapoosa New Era*, January 30, 1896, and Anniston *Alabama Leader*, January 30, 1896. The official vote in the gubernatorial election of 1896 was Johnston, 128,541, to Goodwyn, 89,290. Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 314-315.

⁷⁶Ozark *Banner-Advertiser*, September 26, October 31, 1895 and Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, November 1, 1895.

⁷⁷Karl Louis Rodabaugh, "Fusion, Confusion, Defeat and Disfranchisement: The 'Fadeout of Populism' in Alabama," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Summer, 1972, 131-155.

came to an end when a resolution sponsored by William V. Allen of Nebraska and W. E. Chandler failed by a vote of forty-one to six.⁷⁸ In July came the capture of the Populist presidential nomination by W. J. Bryan and the silver lobby. Manning recognized "the fadeout of Populism" in these developments and joined the Republican Party in disgust.⁷⁹ So ended one man's efforts to reconcile politics and Populist principles.

Given the overwhelming tendency of late nineteenth-century politics to conformistic, sectional conservatism, the significant thing about Manning and his fellow Populists was that they tried to break down this established order.⁸⁰ Nor should it be forgotten that, for all the convolutions of his strategy, Joseph C. Manning briefly unified the ranks of Alabama Populism for its march toward ultimate defeat.

⁷⁸Ashland *People's Party Advocate*, March 13, 1896, Butler *Choctaw Herald*, May 27, 1896 and Dadeville *Tallapoosa New Era*, May 28, 1896.

⁷⁹Alexander City *Outlook*, September 18, 1896, and Rogers, *One-Gallused Rebellion*, 320, quoting the Eufaula *Times and News*, July 23, 1896.

⁸⁰Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*, vii-xxiii, 515-555.

"THE HUSBANDMAN THAT LABOURETH MUST BE
FIRST PARTAKER OF THE FRUITS" (2 TIMOTHY 2:6):
AGRICULTURAL REFORM IN ANTE BELLUM ALABAMA

by

William Warren Rogers, Jr.

After a brief territorial period, Alabama was admitted to the Union in 1819. Despite its comparatively late development Alabama quickly joined other Southern states in the production of that heralded and much in demand crop: cotton. The 1820's and 1830's, the true flush years of the state, were characterized by rapid settlement and runaway cotton prices. Statehood brought an influx of settlers eager to participate in the cotton bonanza. The Tennessee Valley region was opened first, and not long afterwards the fertile Black Belt tracts were claimed. Land sales soared. In the 1830's areas inhabited by Creek Indians a short time before were swiftly cleared and converted into cotton fields.¹ A visitor to Alabama's Black Belt found that farmers "were picking cotton and clearing land, — the axes were cutting until midnight, and an hour before day the next morning."² Despite periodic recessions, cotton quickly became the object around which Alabama's economic life revolved.³

In the ensuing ante-bellum years, the fleecy staple, so well received in the markets of New York and Liverpool, shaped and defined the lives of most Alabamians, white and black. Other crops such as Irish and sweet potatoes, peas, and corn

¹Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Alabama Journal*, June 6, 1849; Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, February 21, 1845. See also Charles Davis, *The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1939), 24-25, 37; Lewis Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, II (Gloucester, 1958), 890-895; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *The Formative Period in Alabama 1815-1828* (Montgomery, 1922), 25, 30, 38, 65; Joseph G. Baldwin, *The Flush Time of Alabama and Mississippi* (New York, 1843), 90.

²Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Elisha F. King Family Planters of the Alabama Black Belt," *Agricultural History*, XIX (July, 1945).

³Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, 61, 66; Davis, *Cotton Kingdom in Alabama*, 37-39.

were also raised on a large scale, but cotton was the cash crop.⁴ Five years after Alabama's admission to statehood cotton production had doubled. By 1840 only three states produced more cotton than Alabama.⁵ Meanwhile, the once raw and extensive Alabama frontier evaporated as settlers "bought farms, wore them out, sold them for a song, bought new ones and grew rich."⁶ But even the most fervid cotton booster could not have predicted the report of the 1850 census. That ten-year collection of statistics revealed that Alabama raised more cotton than any other state in the Union.⁷ Yet, to a growing number of Alabamians such phenomenal production figures did not represent progress. Concerned agrarian reformers in Alabama served notice to both small farmers and large planters alike that they were on a course of economic self-destruction. As time passed, their voices, muted in the past by windfall profits, would become increasingly audible.

The origins of agricultural reform in Alabama could be traced to the formation of agrarian societies in Monroe, Greene, and Jackson counties as early as 1828.⁸ These organizations soon folded, and not until the 1840's was the heyday of the local agrarian societies inaugurated. Among the two earliest and most active organizations were the Talladega Agricultural Society and the Greensboro Agricultural Society. The "golden age" of the agricultural societies, the 1850's, witnessed their proliferation across the state.⁹ The Greensboro Agricultural Society, founded in 1850, pledged to "promote agricultural improvements, to improve the breed of domestic animals, to encourage household manufacture, and the introduction of new as well as the improvement of old

⁴Mss. Census, 1850, Alabama, Agriculture, *passim*. A random selection of counties in the Wiregrass, Black Belt, and Tennessee Valley regions of Alabama reveals that in 1850, cotton was grown primarily, but not exclusively, in the Black Belt.

⁵*Eleventh Census*, 1890, Agriculture, 23.

⁶"Hillside Ditching and Horizontal Culture," *Alabama Cotton Planter*, I (October, 1853), 317.

⁷*Eleventh Census*, 1890, Agriculture, 23.

⁸*Acts of Alabama, 1828-1829*, 52; Weymouth T. Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Alabama: Town and Country* (Tallahassee, 1957), 122-125.

⁹Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Alabama*, 122-125.

implements of husbandry.”¹⁰ Usually these societies set up committees to study the cultivation of cotton, corn, and other crops grown in any given area. Annual agricultural fairs were also sponsored by the reform orders. Lasting anywhere from one to three days, these local fairs attracted large crowds who turned out to view the exhibits of agricultural produce, all types of livestock, farm implements, and a bewildering variety of items made at home. Invariably there was close competition for the premiums that were awarded to the most outstanding exhibits. The agricultural societies, totally apolitical, served the dual purpose of emphasizing the need for reform and of disseminating farm-related information.¹¹

Agricultural journals and newspapers also played an integral part in Alabama's reform movement. The most widely read and influential publication was the *American Cotton Planter*, founded in 1853 by Noah B. Cloud. Masterful editorialist, consummate experimenter, and enthusiastic promoter, Noah Cloud did more for agricultural reform in Alabama between 1840 and 1860 than any other single individual. In large part, the years he spent in Alabama spanned the agricultural reform period. A native of South Carolina, Cloud migrated to Russell County, Alabama, in 1838. Three years later he moved his family and six slaves to the small settlement of La Place in Macon County. There, in the heart of the Black Belt, he began in earnest a series of revolutionary experiments.¹²

At the outset, Cloud's journal, published in Montgomery, had less than five hundred subscribers. Yet the tireless efforts

¹⁰Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, March 27, 1850. Among the agricultural societies founded were the Agricultural Society of Greensboro, *Acts of Alabama*, 1828-1829, 52; the North Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical Association, *Acts of Alabama*, 1857-1858, 104; Agricultural Society of Macon County, *Tuskegee Macon Republican*, October 9, 1851; Talladega County Agricultural Society, *Southern Cultivator*, IV (February, 1846), 92; Pickens County Agricultural Society, *Alabama Cotton Planter*, II (August, 1854), 236.

¹¹Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, October 23, 1849; *Alabama Cotton Planter*, I (January, 1853), 20; *American Cotton Planter and Soil of the South*, VI (April, 1857), 97-98; Elizabeth Essler, "The Agricultural Reform Movement in Alabama 1850-1860," *Alabama Review*, I (Winter, 1948), 250.

¹²Noah B. Cloud, *Southern Cultivator*, X (January, 1852), 27-39; Weymouth T. Jordan, "Noah B. Cloud's Activities on Behalf of Southern Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, XXV (April, 1951), 53-58.

of Cloud, the useful information the journal provided, and the dire need of such a publication made the monthly magazine a success. A typical issue contained articles concerning appropriate manures, innovative farming techniques, announcements of the latest inventions, and advice on a myriad number of related subjects. Commenting on the *American Cotton Planter*, a Wetumpka newspaper editor felt that "every farmer ought to have it, if it cost \$10 instead of \$1," and added somewhat facetiously "We ought to have a statute in our penal code, making it a penitentiary offense for an Alabama planter to be without the Cotton Planter. It is just as necessary to him as a good wife."¹³ In 1857 when Cloud's journal merged with the *Soil of the South*, the largest agricultural organ in Georgia, the journal's circulation had reached 10,000.¹⁴ Without doubt, the journal exercised an important influence on farming and farmers of the Deep South.

Agricultural newspapers, usually weeklies, were also vital to the reform impulse. Promising that "every scheme of a practical bearing will be presented to the planters,"¹⁵ the first issue of the *Alabama Planter* rolled from a Mobile press in 1853. In August 1849, the Greensboro *Alabama Beacon* dispensed almost entirely with politics and announced that its columns would henceforth be devoted to agriculture.¹⁶ Dozens of other papers catered to agricultural interests, usually by printing syndicated articles that had first appeared in one of the numerous Southern agricultural journals.¹⁷

Although in 1840 a visitor through the state pronounced Alabama "yet too young to show the result of a desolating system of cultivation,"¹⁸ there were those who did not share his

¹³Wetumpka *Spectator*, January 15, 1856.

¹⁴*American Cotton Planter and Soil of the South*, V (March, 1857), 66; Jordan, "Noah B. Cloud's Activities on Behalf of Southern Agriculture," 58.

¹⁵Mobile *Press Register*, March 12, 1845.

¹⁶Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, August 25, 1849.

¹⁷See Huntsville *Democrat*, May 5, 1853; Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, November 21, 1850; Eufaula *Democrat*, August 1, 1848; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, December 4, 1847; Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, January 24, 1845; Montgomery *Advertiser and Gazette*, May 11, 1852.

¹⁸*Southern Cabinet*, I (January, 1840), 9. The place of publication of this obscure journal is unknown.

optimism. For years Alabama farmers had (because of ignorance, simple inertia, or just plain habit) gone about their agricultural pursuits in a way detrimental to the soil. Caught up in the cotton mania, the farmers recklessly grew the money-making staple. Few attempts were made to fertilize, rotate the crops, diversify, let the land lie fallow, or in any way restore to the earth its vitality. The average tiller of the soil assumed that the land was inexhaustible. But by the mid-1840's this mentality had been strongly called to task. As Charles C. Langdon, a distinguished but disgusted agrarian speaker, told the Alabama State Agricultural Society, farmers "produce nothing, literally nothing but cotton, cotton, cotton . . ." Although it had been "an easy matter to raise cotton in Alabama — requiring no mental effort, no study, no observation, hardly the labor to think. . . ,"¹⁹ the folly of such a system was evident. With the passing years, Alabama farmers acutely felt the effects of their neglect and abuse of the land. In time, as many Alabama farmers learned, even the alluvial stretches of land could be worn out.²⁰

Not so coincidentally, the rise of agricultural societies and the growth of the reform press were paralleled by the appearance of disturbing signs on Alabama's economic front. Most pertinent was the sudden drop in cotton prices. In 1839 cotton farmers received a respectable 14 cents per pound. One year later the price had almost been cut in half. A decade of low prices followed, and by 1850 cotton was being sold for as low as five cents a pound. Alabama's image as a profitable cotton kingdom had been severely tarnished. For many farmers used to profitable cotton returns, their livelihood ceased to be so remunerative.²¹

Blame, condemnation, and disbelief came from different corners. Although reform sentiment necessarily addressed the cotton question, there was not always unanimity among those who assigned the blame for the catastrophic turn of events. Two distinct schools of thought were propagated from the start.

¹⁹Charles C. Langdon, *American Cotton Planter*, IV (April, 1856), 99.

²⁰Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, February 21, 1845; Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, October 13, 1849; *Debow's Review*, XIV (January, 1853), 68-69.

²¹Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, September 22, 1849.

A significant number of agriculturalists believed that too much cotton was being raised. They contended that the almost exclusive growth of the crop taxed the land unnecessarily, prevented the cultivation of other crops, and caused overproduction which was accompanied by a fall in prices.²²

The Tuscumbia *North Alabamian* noted that the emphasis on cotton reduced the planter to a "dangerous state of vassalage and dependence upon [the] foreign market and foreign speculators."²³ A speaker before the Chunnenugee Horticultural Society, also critical of the staple, conceded that cotton had made Alabama, but it had "wasted the indigenous growth of our forests, impoverished our soil, diminished our domestic enjoyments, narrowed our minds, and greatly retarded our progress in other fields of labor."²⁴ Other voices added to the chorus of discontent.

Others of similar persuasion attacked the traditional staple for reasons more social than economic. These critics maintained that the successful cultivation of cotton, largely dependent on fresh lands, forced the planter or farmer to move often. By doing so the agrarians forfeited the accruing benefits of a more stable existence. Daniel Pratt, noted industrial advocate and ante-bellum promoter of cotton mills in Alabama, regretted this migration. According to Pratt, it precluded the establishment of better schools and churches, improved roads, and the development of an artisan or manufacturing class.²⁵ Some claimed that the ubiquitous plant even had an undesirable moral effect. The president of the Mobile Agricultural and Horticultural Society had no tolerance for a crop that induced farmers "heedlessly [to] turn their backs upon the home of their childhood; without a tear or a sigh; [and] abandon the spot hallowed by the graves of their fathers."²⁶ Indeed, the concentration on cotton was criticized across a wide spectrum.

²²Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, February 7, 1845; Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, November 21, 1850; Mobile *Register and Journal*, February 25, 1845; *Southern Agriculturalist* (May, 1844), 176-183; see also Davis, *Cotton Kingdom*, 171.

²³Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, February 21, 1845.

²⁴Charles C. Clay, *American Cotton Planter*, II (July, 1855), 195.

²⁵Daniel Pratt, *ibid.*, I (January, 1853), 27.

²⁶Charles C. Langdon, *ibid.*, II (September, 1854), 258.

Not all observers saw cotton as a false prophet. Their explanation for economic distress took a different turn. Noah Cloud viewed the staple more favorably. A leading advocate of scientific agriculture, Cloud made clear in the first issue of the *American Cotton Planter* the farmer's fundamental problem. It was not that the Alabama farmer raised too much cotton, but that he let the crop monopolize his time and energy — at the expense of other interests. In deference to cotton, few hogs, mules, horses, cattle or any blooded stock were raised. Depending almost exclusively on cotton, few farmers grew their own grain. Such tasks, he railed, were too often outside the pale of the average Alabama farmer.²⁷

As the preeminent agriculturalist explained, it was also ironical and paradoxical that Alabamians produced vast amounts of cotton but converted little of it into cloth. The potential of textile mills was largely ignored as Alabama farmers concentrated on achieving maximum cotton yields. Consequently, the farmer was forced to buy cloth and clothing at inflated prices from northern entrepreneurs. Cloud maintained that the typical Alabama farmer was analogous to the "silly African or the improvident East Indian, that roams over the sun-scorched sands of their barren country and gather the raw ivory — and thus selling become poorer every year — while the foreign manufacturer grows rich in giving form, polish, and value to the tooth."²⁸ Not by growing less cotton, but by growing the staple more efficiently, could the farmer improve his situation. By judicious management, the farmer might cut his cotton acreage in half, grow just as much cotton, and use his remaining acres for grain crops, pastureland, and other purposes that would enable him to become more self-sufficient.²⁹

As cotton prices continued to fall, threatening to undermine the economic basis of the entire state, remedies to alleviate the situation were continuously advanced. To many, economic salvation could be achieved only by wholesale diversi-

²⁷Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, October 24, 1845; *DeBow's Review*, XIV (January, 1853), 17; *American Cotton Planter*, I (January, 1853), 20-21.

²⁸Noah B. Cloud, *American Cotton Planter*, I (January, 1853), 20.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 20; Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, March 3, 1853.

fication. The growth of a greater variety of crops would have a cure-all effect. Sugar cane was pushed as a supplementary crop by some. Reports of profits from the growth of hemp were circulated and endorsed. There were even experiments with silk cultivation.³⁰

The *Eufaula Democrat* pleaded with farmers to devote more time and interest to the raising of vegetable and grain crops. Other reformers pushed for more corn, much of which would be used to fatten livestock. Selective breeding of cattle and other types of livestock was a favorite theme. Concomitant with improved herds would be the setting aside of more pastureland for the livestock to graze on. In south Alabama there were claims that the section's soil would support the cultivation of rice. Horticulture was also a widely discussed topic. Varieties of fruits such as apples and peaches, previously thought unadaptable to the Alabama climate or soil, were also promoted. None of these ideas was ever enthusiastically embraced in ante-bellum Alabama, but their mere advancement indicated that a sizeable number of Alabama planters and farmers wanted and needed a diversified economy, one not so dependent on cotton.³¹

Increasingly, scientific agriculture became popular. The farmer was urged to "make experiments, call science to your aid, read, think, study, work — in short, persevere, and success is sure."³² Innovative farming techniques were coming into vogue. Horizontal plowing and hillside ditching, designed to prevent rich top soil from washing away, were put in greater use. The planting of clover, peas, and other reliable legumes became fairly widespread. It was pressed both upon the planter who dwelled in his Greek revival mansion and the yeoman farmer who lived at the fork of the creek that farming was a business. As a businessman, he should keep books recording his efforts and their results. Time and labor saving inventions were discussed. Most importantly, the patrons

³⁰Tusculumbia *North Alabamian*, November 29, 1844; *Niles National Register* (May, 1845), 180; *DeBow's Review*, IX (August, 1850), 210.

³¹*Eufaula Democrat*, November 28, 1848; *Greensboro Alabama Beacon*, November 3, 1849; *Mobile Press Register*, March 11, 1845; *Montgomery Mail*, September 14, 1857; *Tusculumbia North Alabamian*, October 24, 1845.

³²Charles Langdon, *American Cotton Planter*, II (September, 1854), 259.

of science promoted the use of fertilizers.³³

Economic hard times turned farmers to fertilizers. Although not unknown to the Alabama farmer, fertilizers had been ignored during the state's formative or flush years. Rich soil that became depleted only gradually caused fertilizers to be neglected. Predictably, Noah Cloud was behind the eventual acceptance and popularization of these soil-building agents. He ran countless articles advocating the use of fertilizers in the *American Cotton Planter*. Citing historical precedent, Cloud reminded farmers that a manure-based fertilizer had been used extensively during the days of the Roman Empire. Cato and Cincinnatus had both championed its use.³⁴

Probably more convincing were the numerous farmers who testified to the efficacy of fertilizers. Guano, a highly-concentrated fertilizer imported from Peru, first appeared in Alabama in the early forties. Because of its recommendations and its results, guano proved popular. According to one authority, the compound acted "like magic on [the] worn-out cotton lands in the Alabama black belt."³⁵ Cloud used guano some, but believed that the more readily available compost animal manures would serve the Alabama farmer's interest just as well — at a fraction of the cost.³⁶ Cotton seed and marl were also used to enrich the soil. Increasingly, fertilizers enjoyed a wide usage and their promotion took on the aura of a crusade.³⁷

By 1845 the agricultural crisis in Alabama was felt state-wide. Alternately, droughts and rain had plagued the cotton farmer. The boll worm and caterpillars were persistent nemeses. Drastic fluctuations in cotton prices put the cotton planter in

³³Eufaula *Democrat*, March 6, 1849; Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, August 25, 1849; R. H. Powell, *American Cotton Planter and Soil of the South*, IV (March, 1857), 70; *American Cotton Planter*, II (January, 1854), 1-8; see also Minnie Clare Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties* (New York, 1931), 34-35.

³⁴*Southern Cultivator*, VI (February, 1848), 58.

³⁵Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Peruvian Guano Gospel in the Old South," *Agricultural History*, XXIV (October, 1950), 220.

³⁶Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, April 9, 1852; *Alabama Cotton Planter* II (November, 1854), 328-329; *American Cotton Planter and Soil of the South*, XII (March, 1858), 77.

³⁷*Mobile Register and Journal*, January 27, 1845; *Southern Agriculturalist* (May, 1844), 179; Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties*, 34-36.

a perilous position.³⁸ Against such an apocalyptic backdrop, an agricultural meeting was called in February, 1845. The conclave was probably the first statewide assembly of farmers in Alabama. Meeting in Montgomery, delegates from various counties discussed ways to check the growing despair. Their principal conclusion was embodied in a resolution that the poor "state of things grows out of the extreme low prices of cotton, induced by an over-production of the article."³⁹ Dissatisfaction with the staple crop was obvious. For the reform-minded agriculturalists the needs were clear: More diversification, increased cotton manufacturing, a geological survey of the state to facilitate the mining of mineral resources, and the formation of agricultural societies in the various counties. Because of poor promotion, travel difficulties, sparse attendance, and limited newspaper coverage the convention produced something less than a mandate. Yet it had cogently pointed out what needed to be done, and it paved the way for future gatherings.⁴⁰

Far more often than not the Cassandra-like warnings of the agricultural reformer fell on deaf ears. Staunched individualistic farmers resented the pedantic advice of distant editorialists. Leaving subscription costs aside, many farmers refused on principle to take an agricultural journal. Instead, they contemptuously labeled the reformers "book farmers" who preached impractical notions. To mention that a certain farmer, albeit eminently successful, took an agricultural paper caused some to "run from his teaching as from a pestilence."⁴¹ Tradition died hard among certain agrarians who refused to break from the time-honored but often inefficient practices of their forefathers.⁴²

In 1843, the thrust of what became known as the "Cloud System" first appeared in the *Southern Cultivator*. An agri-

³⁸Eufaula *Democrat*, June 19, 1849; Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, November 20, 1851; Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, September 4, 1852; Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London, 1849), 72.

³⁹Tuscumbia *North Alabamian*, March 7, 1845.

⁴⁰Mobile *Register and Journal*, February 22, 26, 1845.

⁴¹*Alabama Cotton Planter*, II (February 1864), 55.

⁴²Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, August 25, 1849; Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, April 24, 1852; *Alabama Cotton Planter*, I (September, 1853), 246.

cultural journal published in Augusta, Georgia, the *Cultivator* gave a wide audience to the then obscure Alabama agriculturalist. In its columns Cloud outlined a comprehensive plan that allowed the farmer to increase his yield five fold (barring the unpredictable interference of natural elements). Basic to Cloud's cotton scheme was the use of fertilizer. Four to five hundred bushels of a manure-based fertilizer should be added to every acre planted. In fact, Cloud put his own slaves to work "collecting barnyard manure, cotton seed, pine straw, leaves, wood scrapplings, brush, bars, trash . . ." ⁴³ and other items which would replenish the soil. Ideally, the land should be allowed to lie fallow for a year before the staple was planted. The terrain, leveled and measured, should also be plowed in a way to prevent erosion. Anticipating skeptics, Cloud confidently promised that if the predicted yield did not materialize, he would provide the farmer with a sack of his own cotton seed. By 1850 Cloud's system was well known and his name had become synonymous with agricultural reform. ⁴⁴

The price cotton brought rose considerably after 1850 and remained on a high plateau throughout the decade. ⁴⁵ Consequently, agrarian rhetoric was more temperate, less fatalistic, and infrequently framed in Armageddon-like terms. Constructive reform, however, went on. A watershed event in the agricultural reform movement was the formation of the Alabama Agricultural Society. Meeting at the capital in January 1855, the delegates evinced no sense of the keen despair that hung over the convention held ten years earlier in the same city. Scientific farming and agricultural cooperation instead of limiting cotton production were the themes of this gathering. Isaac Croom, an innovative and successful Greene County planter, was elected president. Noah Cloud was the convention's choice for secretary. ⁴⁶ That same year the society was put on a sound financial footing when the state of Alabama provided

⁴³Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Alabama*, 210.

⁴⁴*Southern Cultivator*, I (January, 1843), 12-13; *American Cotton Planter*, II (November, 1854), 341; Jordan, "Activities on Behalf of Southern Agriculture," 54-55.

⁴⁵*Montgomery Advertiser and State Gazette*, May 11, 1853; Esseler, "Agricultural Reform in Alabama, 249-250; Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties*, 38-39.

⁴⁶*Montgomery Advertiser and State Gazette*, January 13, 1855; *Montgomery Mail*, January 11, 1855; *Alabama Cotton Planter*, III (February, 1855), 49-50.

\$10,000 for its operation.⁴⁷ The rejuvenated society proved successful in diffusing agricultural information and promoting experimentation on all levels.

The most publicized function of the state's agricultural society was the annual fair. Montgomery was the perennial site of the spectacular extravaganza, first held in 1855. Invariably staged in the fall of the year, the fair attracted Montgomerians and others from across the state.⁴⁸

Thousands of marvelling spectators spent hours taking in the numerous displays spread out over a lot of thirty acres. A rambling and hastily thrown up edifice, known as the Industrial Palace, housed many of the exhibits. Visitors to the fair inspected banner crops, prize livestock, cotton gins, and a host of products made at home.⁴⁹ The presence of "monkey shows", a "hairy woman", a "double headed girl," and a "liquor shed where mean whisky was vended,"⁵⁰ drew criticism from purists, but most people liked the carnival-like atmosphere.

Theater houses catered to the crowds and billed top attractions. During fair week in 1860 John Wilkes Booth appeared in "The Apostate." On a swing through the South, presidential hopeful Stephen Douglas also spoke in Montgomery on that occasion. His otherwise hospitable reception was only slightly marred by several eggs thrown at the "Little Giant" as he spoke from the capitol steps. Traditionally, the Montgomery Blues, a local militia organization, escorted the governor and members of the legislature to the fair grounds. The festivities were climaxed by a chivalric jousting match and a grand ball. Speeches made at the fairgrounds by agriculturalists had effects difficult to measure but which probably did some good.⁵¹

Agricultural reform in Alabama was given its impetus by

⁴⁷ *Acts of Alabama*, 1855-1856, 343-344.

⁴⁸ *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 20, 1855; *American Cotton Planter*, IV (November, 1856), 337; Esseler, "Agricultural Reform Movement in Alabama," 252-253.

⁴⁹ *Mobile Daily Register*, November 27, 1855; *Montgomery Mail*, November 18, 1857; *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 23, 1855.

⁵⁰ *Tuskaloosa Independent Monitor*, November 11, 1858.

⁵¹ *Montgomery Weekly Post*, October 30, 1860, November 7, 1860; *Weekly Montgomery Confederation*, November 9, 1860.

the collapse of cotton prices in the 1840's. Initially, agrarian discontent crystalized and focused on the universal practice of raising cotton, regardless of its harmful corollary effects. Those who criticized the staple correctly pointed out that subservience to cotton placed the farmer at the mercy of outside interests and ultimately wore out the land. But if the growth of cotton declined, it did not do so appreciably, and the cash crop's price eventually rose.⁵² Cotton production doubled during the prosperous decade prior to the Civil War as the staple survived a critical interlude.⁵³

It would be unfair to presume that the success or failure of the agricultural reform movement hinged on the reduction of cotton acreage. If this were a valid judgment, the effort would have ended with the resurgence of cotton prices. Instead, the crusade accelerated and influenced greater numbers of Alabama farmers. At least partly due to reform efforts farm values tripled between 1850 and 1860 as thousands of acres were opened and improved on.⁵⁴ With the extensive use of fertilizers and innovative plowing techniques, farming became less wasteful. It seems likely that farmers became somewhat more self-sufficient. A number of Alabamians continued to ably spread the gospel of scientific agriculture.

Spokesmen for the agrarian cause, their voices amplified by the reform press, remained disenchanted with certain aspects of cotton cultivation. Yet they were more inclined to advance efficient methods to raise the crop than to recommend large-scale abandonment of the staple. Because these early Alabama farmers never experienced the extreme and prolonged hardships that confronted latter-day agrarians, the reform movement never achieved the unity and crusading zeal that members of the Farmer's Alliance and later Populists commanded during the 1890's. The drive for agricultural reform in Alabama was sporadic, its intensity rising and falling with the price of cotton. It was championed by various means: individuals, newspapers, magazines, agricultural societies both state and local fairs.

⁵²*DeBow's Review*, XX (February, 1852), 166; *ibid.*, IV (September, 1847), 37.

⁵³Louis Vandiver Loveman (Compiler), *Alabama Book of Facts and Historical Statistics* (Gadsden, 1975), 73.

⁵⁴*Ninth Census*, 1870, Agriculture, 689-690.

All of these efforts considered together were important. They constituted a genuine, pragmatic effort to sustain and revitalize Alabama's most important pursuit — agriculture.

UP THE TOMBIGBEE WITH THE SPANIARDS:
JUAN DE LA VILLEBEUVRE AND THE
TREATY OF BOUCFOUCA (1793)*

by

Jack D. L. Holmes

In the *leyenda negra* historical literature of the United States in general, and the Alabama state histories in particular, it has become fashionable to denigrate Spain's three decades of rule in the Mobile District (1780-1813) and to ridicule her frontier officers, who seemed incapable of stemming the on-rushing tide of American frontiersmen into the Old Southwest.¹ Fortunately, for historical truth, the documents extant, when perused carefully, illustrate that Spain was *not* on her "last legs," and that skillful frontier diplomats and strategists had actually succeeded in blocking the westward expansion of the United States by making use of the same formidable barrier which the French used to block English expansion prior to 1763.

On May 10, 1793, the Spanish *comisario* among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, Lieutenant-colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre, signed a three-article treaty of cession with twenty-six great medal, small medal chiefs, and captains of the Small District Division of the Choctaw Indians at Boucfouca.² Un-

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¹Among the most xenophobic authors, few drip more vitriol from the pen than Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895-1896). Among the Alabama authors who pay scant attention to the Spanish period are Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, from the Earliest Period* (2 vols.; Charleston, S.C., 1851; a one-volume edition was published in Tuscaloosa, Alabama in 1962); and Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile, and Historical Study . . .* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1897; several revisions have been published, including one edited by Charles G. Summersell, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1976).

²The treaty is found in several places: Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba (after cited as AGI, PC), legajo 2353; and Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion de Estado (hereafter cited as AHN, EST.), legajo 3898. It is printed in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Espana y los indios cberokis y chactas en la segunda mitad del siglo xviii* (Sevilla: Tip de la "Guia Oficial," 1916), 90.

like the treaties negotiated between the United States and the Cherokees or even the Creeks, the Spanish treaty did not include much land. For expenses estimated at \$1,000 in gifts and provisions, Spain acquired the support of the 10,000-brave Choctaw Indians and the transfer of some thirty arpents of land located at a strategic point near the confluence of the Black Warrior and Tombigbee Rivers.³ The arpent was a French measure used throughout the Mississippi Valley, but it was about .85 of an acre, thus making the land cession of Boucfouca approximately 25½ acres.⁴

The treaty itself is a terse statement containing three articles, stated in simple language that the Choctaws could readily understand:

"Treaty of friendship between His Catholic Majesty, Great King of Spain and of the Indies, party of the first part, represented by his Lieutenant-colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre, Captain of Grenadiers in the Louisiana Infantry Regiment,⁵ and commissioner for Spain among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Na-

³Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Treaties with West Florida Indians, 1784-1802," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII, No. 2 (October, 1969), 152; Carondelet to Duque de Alcudia, No. 24, Confidential, New Orleans, January 18, 1794, copy in AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2531.

⁴On the value of the arpent, see Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gayoso, the Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association, 1965; reprinted, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith 1968), 34 note.

⁵On this military organization, see Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821*, Vol. I, *Louisiana Collection Series of Books and Documents on Colonial Louisiana* (Birmingham: Louisiana Collection Series, 1965).

⁶De la Villebeuvre's success in winning Choctaw support for Spain against the British during the American Revolution and successful trips to the Nation in 1784, 1787 and 1788 led to his appointment as "comisario" or Commissioner of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Preliminary appointment included in Carondelet to Franchimastabe, New Orleans, July 10, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 122-A. The ministry appointment was dated November 3, 1792, AHN, EST., leg. 3887. Carondelet's predecessor, Esteban Miro, has recommended de la Villebeuvre for promotion after the successful missions. Certification of Miro, New Orleans, December 20, 1791, attached to de la Villebeuvre's petition, New Orleans, March 3, 1792, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2560. By 1795, his salary had been raised to 800 pesos yearly and charged to the "Division of Immigration and Indian Friendship" (Ramo de Poblacion y Amistad de Indios): AGI, PC, leg. 184-A.

tions;⁶ and for the party of the second part, the following great and small medal chiefs and war captains from the Small District of the Choctaw Nation:⁷

Nanhoula Mastabe	Cathia Opaye
Totehouma	Panchinantla
Tapina Hokio	Tascapatapo
Tascauna Opaye	Tanimingui Mastabe
Pouchahouma	Alpatakhouma
Estonaka Opaye	Atougoulabe
Opayehouma	Tanaphouma
Paye Mastabe	Tchou Mastabe
Taskienia	Yatalahouman
Emalabe	Pouchahouma
Panchahouma	Esatche Fiaha
Janequi Mastabe	Pancha Bahuole
Tascapatapo	Macheauche

“We all agree and covenant voluntarily in the village of Boucfouca⁸ to the following articles:

⁷The three divisions of the Choctaws used by the French and the Indians themselves were the Great District (Gran Partida), given variously as Opatukla (Hodge, I, 778), Oypatukla or Ahepat Okla, and located in the northeastern or eastern section; the Small District (Pequena Partida) or Okla Falaya (“the long people”), Indians from whom were scattered in small settlements over a large extent of territory; and the Six Towns (Seis Aldeas), or Okla hannali, in the southeast, closer to New Orleans. For all full discussion, see Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols.; Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907-1910; reprinted, New York: Pagan Books, 1959), I, 778; II, 115-116; Henry Sale Halbert, “District Divisions of the Choctaw Nation,” *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Miscellaneous Collections*, I (1901), 375-385; and Jack D. L. Holmes, “The Choctaws in 1795,” *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1968), 33-49.

⁸As with all Indian spellings, there is much variation in the documents on Boucfouca. It appears also as Boucfuca, Boukfuka, Buctuca, Bouctouca, and even Bouctoucoulou. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 289, states it was located on the headwaters of the Pearl River in Mississippi. In Holmes, “Choctaws in 1795,” based on the large *padron* (census) compiled at Fort Confederation on November 26, 1795 (located in the Louisiana Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California), the word appears as Bucfuka. The small medal chief in 1795 was Atonajuman. Two captains were Pelechihabe and Anchalemastabe. There were 104 people in the village, including 26 warriors, 42 women and 33 children. In the map drawn by Regis du Roullet in 1732, covering his pirogue voyage up the Pearl and along the “chemin” from Boukfouka (*sic*) to Mobile, it appears that the town was approximately in the vicinity of present-day Jackson, Mississippi. See map in

"Article One. That for the greater efficiency of distribution of the needs of the Small District and the entire Choctaw Nation, their brothers, the Spaniards, will be granted ownership of a plot of land measuring 30 square arpents, more or less, on the site which the French formerly occupied,⁹ for the purpose of building thereon a warehouse or storehouse for provisions and supplies, and a fort for protection of the Choctaws from any nation which in the future might wage war against them, a fort to be manned with cannon and troops. The Choctaws and their descendants will make no attempt to reclaim the said ceded land, but on the contrary, they will always protect their brothers, the Spaniards, in the possession of said storehouse and fort against any attempts to drive them from their land.

"Second. The Spanish Nation declares a reciprocal offer to defend and protect the land of their faithful allies, the Choctaws, against any people who may attempt to disturb them in the possession of said lands.

"Third. The said chiefs ratify and promise to be steadfast friends to the entire Spanish Nation and to preserve

Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders (eds. and trans.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1710-1743, French Dominion* (3 vols.; Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1927-1932), I, opposite 192. See also, *ibid.*, 155-163.

⁹Spaniards used two terms to describe two separate military posts on the Tombigbee River. Old Fort Tombeckbe, which is the site of the land cession in the Treaty of Bouc fouca, was located on Jones's Bluff on the west side of the Tombigbee River where the Alabama Great Southern Railroad crossed the River in Sumter County. It is at Epes, Alabama, located seven miles north-by-northeast of the campus of Livingston State University. During the 1735-1736 campaign of Jean Baptiste LeMoyne, Sieur de Bienville, against the Chickasaws, DeLusser was sent to construct a fort, which he named after the "Itomba-igabee" Creek nearby. Ovens baked bread for Bienville's troops who took 23 days to make the trek from Mobile to Old Fort Tombeckbe. Following the French and Indian War, the British occupied it and renamed it Fort York, but after five years they abandoned it. In 1794 the Spaniards constructed Fort Confederation on the site, and during the 1802-3 period, Choctaw lands were "liberated" at treaties signed there. Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 258; Walter J. Saucier and Kathrine Wagner Seineke, "Francois Saucier, Engineer of Fort de Chartres, Illinois," *Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley*, edited by John Francis McDermott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), 208; Robert R. Rea, "The Trouble at Tombeckby," *Alabama Review*, XXI, No. 1 (January, 1968), 21-39.

what has been agreed at the Mobile Congress¹⁰ and thereafter by the said governors."¹¹

By the terms of this important treaty, Lieutenant-colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre had extended Spanish control in northern Alabama, and placed such posts in lower Louisiana and West Florida as Mobile, Natchez and New Orleans under additional protection. It was part of Carondelet's frontier defense policy to extend Spanish domination into the Indian country, win their support and, at the same time, block the land-grabbing ambitions of the Americans, which threatened both the Indians and Spain in the possession of their lands.

Rather than resent the intrusion of Spain in the heart of their hunting lands, the Indians seemed to welcome it as a viable alternative to allowing American frontiersmen to overrun their traditional hunting lands. As for Spain, any check of American expansion through the use of their Red Men "sepoys" (as Whitaker calls them), would save money and effect the desired results without loss of Spanish life. Bloody Fellow, a noted Cherokee chief, had come to plead with Governor-general Carondelet in New Orleans during 1792 that a post be re-established with a frontier fort at Old French Tombecke and the Muscle Shoals. He was aware that such treaties as Hope well (1785 and 1786) and New York (1790) had "liberated" Indian lands in favor of American frontiersmen, and he had no wish to see such expansion continue into the Choctaw lands.¹² The Spanish land cession treaties offered a dramatic contrast with the rapacious American land cessions, so much so, that the Creeks had a word for the frontiersmen who threatened their livelihood: *Ecunnaunnuxulgee* — literally, "people

¹⁰The Mobile Congress signed by the Choctaws on July 14, 1784, formed an alliance with Spain and established a schedule of fur prices and a list of annual presents. Holmes, "Spanish Treaties With West Florida Indians," 143-144.

¹¹Thanks to important journeys made by Juan de la Villebeuvre to the Choctaw camps during 1787 and 1788, Governor Esteban Miro won their strong allegiance. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Juan de la Villebeuvre and the Spanish-Choctaw Alliance of 1787," Unpublished paper given to the Missouri Valley History Conference, Omaha, Nebraska, March 11, 1976.

¹²Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Policy Toward the Southern Indians in the 1790's," *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, edited by Charles M. Hudson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 66-67.

greedily grasping after all their lands."¹³

American promoters had long dreamed of converting the thousands of acres between the Appalachians and the Mississippi into flourishing, producing farms, linked to the outside world by water courses which flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. Two centuries before the Tennessee-Tombigbee canal project caused such consternation among environmentalists,¹⁴ Tennessee's William Blount called for the construction of a canal from the Tennessee River to the headwaters of the Tombigbee which would make Muscle Shoals the "commercial capital of the Ohio Valley." The Georgia Legislature was persuaded to grant to a speculation company headed by Zachariah Cox thousands of acres near Muscle Shoals, and the project continued to pose a threat to Spanish defenses of Lower Louisiana and West Florida for a score of years.¹⁵

Indeed, during 1792, Juan de la Villebeuvre attended a general conference held at Muscle Shoals between the United States and representatives from the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees. His instructions from Governor-general Carondelet made clear Spain's intention to block American

¹³Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, Vol. IX, *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1916), 252.

¹⁴One of the best anti-canal, environmental statements is Johnny Greene, "Selling Off the Old South," *Harper's*, CCLIV (April, 1977), 40-41. On Greene, see Dale Short, "Demopolis Native Laments Tombigbee 'Progress,'" *Birmingham News*, April 1, 1977, *Punch Section*, p. 24. Another journalist, bemoaning what is being done to the Tombigbee River ("Popular River May Soon Become a Big Ditch," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, November 13, 1977, VI, 8), wrote, "The Tombigbee River . . . is one of the last great natural rivers of the Deep South, winding its way through mostly virgin wilderness on its 240-mile route from the northeast corner of Mississippi to its juncture with the Warrior River at Demopolis, Ala., some 60 miles north of Mobile . . . With a stretch of 20 miles, we saw the river change from wide, deep and gentle curves into swift-flowing shallows dotted with submerged trees and gravel bars. We passed several smaller rivers and streams emptying into the main body of water. At some places, the river winds past sheer walls of clay and rock, 30 feet steep, and dense stands of trees and foliage. Occasionally, we saw a great blue heron wing its way across the water."

¹⁵Arthur P. Whitaker, "The Muscle Shoals Speculation, 1783-1789," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII, No. 3 (December, 1926), 365-386; and *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803, A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1934), 106-107.

attempts to win over the various tribes, and he was largely responsible for the failure of the Americans.¹⁶ The following year de la Villebeuvre was sent to Boucfouca with orders to shore up weak Spanish defenses against the possibility of American frontiersmen driving into Northern Alabama.¹⁷

Boucfouca attracted the early attention of the French in 1732, when Regis du Roulet poled his pirogue along the Pearl River to the headwaters, not far from present-day Jackson. The word, which was translated as "surrounded by bayous," was composed of three hamlets, each a quarter of a league from the other, and all three surrounded by bayous for the extension of at least twenty leagues in circumference. Since Regis du Roulet had successfully negotiated the distance from Mobile to Boucfouca, he suggested taking loaded pirogues there, establishing a storehouse and building a fort for the protection of the colony. But the Rev. Father Beaudouin, a Jesuit missionary, pointed out that the rapid current and frequent sand banks along a narrow channel made difficult — "if not to say impossible" — so he recommended Tuscaloosa, the last Choctaw village of the eastern part, where stone might be available to build a good fort. Boucfouca thus lost out as the entrepot between the Tombigbee headwaters and the Mobile River which led into Mobile.¹⁸

Three letters from Governor-general Carondelet illustrate the importance of the Spanish acquisition of the site of Old French Tombecbe for a fort. In the first, written in November, 1792, to the Conde de Aranda, Spanish Minister of State, Carondelet explained how three strategic locations held the key to defense of the Old Southwest — Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River; the Walnut Hills on the Mississippi, near the

¹⁶A draft of the instructions dated April 3, 1792, is in AGI, PC, leg. 122-A; another, dated New Orleans, April 4, 1792, is in AGI, PC, leg. 18.

¹⁷When de la Villebeuvre arrived at Boucfouca, he suffered a painful abcess on his upper leg which confined him to his cot for a fortnight with fever so bad he "could not write the official letters" with his own hand. de la Villebeuvre to Carondelet, Boukfouka (*sic*), March 30, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 208. This has also been translated by Roberta and edited by Duvon C. Corbitt, "Papers From the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," *Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society*, XXX (1958), 101.

¹⁸Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 136-163 and map, I, opposite 192. See above, note 8.

confluence of the Yazoo River (present-day Vicksburg); and Old French Fort Tombecbe on the Tombigbee near its confluence with the Black Warrior. Carondelet described the visit to New Orleans of Bloody Fellow, the noted Cherokee chief who bemoaned the loss of tribal lands to the rapacious Americans and warned against letting it happen in Alabama and Mississippi. He urged the occupation of the old French fort as well as the Muscle Shoals.¹⁹

By referring to a rough set of maps which accompanied the dispatches,²⁰ Carondelet pointed out that Fort Nogales, Old Fort Tombecbe and Muscle Shoals all lay along a line of defense for Mobile, some 80 leagues away from the two former sites. Muscle Shoals was along the 34th parallel, some 30 leagues from the east bank of the Mississippi; 34 leagues from the Ohio River; and only 20 leagues from the Tombigbee at Epes. It was obvious that the keystone to Spanish defenses, which also included Fort San Esteban de Tombecbe, was the Old Fort Tombecbe.²¹

To Aranda's successor, the formidable Spanish minister, Manuel de Godoy, Duque de Alcudia and later Principe de la Paz (1795), Carondelet explained that the situation of the 30 square arpents of land obtained by Spain at the Treaty of Boucfouca, was located at 33° 10' North Latitude on the Chickasaw [Tombigbee] River, "on the same spot where the French used to have a settlement named Old Tombecbe." The Indian *comisario* listed the advantages to Spain of acquiring the land: "it will cover the vast land included between the Rivers Tombigbee, Mobile, Yazoo, Mobile and Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico." Consequently, it would protect the settlements at

¹⁹Carondelet to Conde de Aranda, No. 23, confidential, New Orleans, November 20, 1792, AHN, EST., leg. 3898. It is summarized in Serrano y Sanz, *Espana y los indios*, 64-65.

²⁰The maps are printed in Miguel Gomez del Campillo (comp.), *Relaciones diplomaticas entre Espana y los Estados Unidos segun los documentos del Archivo Historico Nacional* (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1944-1945), I, opposite 272. See appendix.

²¹Carondelet to Aranda, No. 23, Confidential, November 20, 1792. On the 1789-1799 history of Fort San Esteban de Tombecbe, often referred to as "New Fort Tombecbe," which later became St. Stephens, the territorial capital of Alabama, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Notes on the Spanish Fort San Esteban de Tombecbe," *Alabama Review*, XVIII, No. 4 (October, 1965), 281-290.

Nogales, Natchez, New Tombecbe [Fort San Esteban de Tombecbe], Mobile, and the rest in Lower Louisiana. Moreover, it would lend support to the alliance which existed between the Spaniards and the Choctaws. It would drive the American frontiersmen from those fertile territories and block the project they had of opening communication between the Pearl and Tombigbee Rivers and the Gulf of Mexico. Finally, Carondelet wrote, it would place Spain in a position of being able to communicate directly with the Cherokee Nation, whose lands between the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers Spain had great interest in preserving.²²

Carondelet's vigorous and generally effective Indian policy had suffered when the Americans living around Nashville and Knoxville, led by such formidable leaders as James Robertson, John Sevier and William Blount, had encouraged the Chickasaws to make war against the wandering hunting parties of Creeks, and this unfriendly gesture had almost begun a full-scale frontier war between the two tribes, a war whose effects Carondelet realized would be a weakening of the Indians and a chance for Americans to push them off their lands, particularly at Chickasaw Bluffs and Muscle Shoals — the two most strategic locations in the area. Carondelet hoped to forestall American plans by arranging for a full-scale Indian conference of Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Cherokees, and the Treaty of Nogales, held in the fall of 1793, had the desired effect.²³

Carondelet proposed a stout frontier fort made from the Tombigbee limestone, which was easy to cut and would become hardened by the weather and time. He estimated the expense of fort, storehouse for the commercial House of Panton, barracks and other buildings at some \$25,000 but he pointed out that "their duration would be for all time ["eterna"], in lieu

²²Carondelet to Alcudia, No. 10, Confidential, New Orleans, June 11, 1793, AHN, EST., leg. 3898. It is summarized in Elena Sanchez-Fabres Mirat, *Situación histórica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo xviii (1783-1819): los problemas de una región de frontera* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1977), 30-31.

²³On Spanish-American rivalry in this area see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish-American Rivalry Over the Chickasaw Bluffs, 1780-1795," and "The Ebb-Tide of Spanish Military Power on the Mississippi: Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas, 1795-1798," *Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society*, Nos. 34 (1962) and 36 (1964), 521-543 and 32-33, respectively.

of those which we have made up to now out of wood, which have cost some \$15,000 and have barely lasted fifteen years."²⁴

Carondelet's third letter to his brother-in-law, the captain-general of Cuba, was virtually a duplicate of his letter to Godoy, but it also included a copy of the Treaty of Bouc fouca. In both official dispatches, Carondelet praised the work of his Choctaw agents, Juan de la Villebeuvre the comisario, and Simon Favre, the Choctaw-Spanish interpreter. Favre had been serving since 1780, when Spanish troops under Bernardo de Galvez captured the Mobile District from the British, and as a result of his good work on the Treaty of Bouc fouca, Carondelet recommended that his monthly salary of \$45 be increased by one-third to \$60. Speaking of de la Villebeuvre, the governor-general write:

"... he has labored diligently for more than a year among the Choctaws and with much hard work he concluded this treaty. Considering all his valuable contributions, I hope you will apprise His Majesty of them so that he may be awarded the salary of army lieutenant-colonel."²⁵

Fort Confederation, built the following year, formed a part of the chain of fortifications which, together with the Spanish Galley Squadron, units of the Louisiana Infantry Regiment, and solidly backed by ten thousand Choctaw braves, kept the American frontiersmen at bay. It was the betrayal at the European treaty table which undid the long and arduous work of such frontier-minded Spanish officers as Juan de la Villebeuvre. By the Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty of 1795), Spain agreed to evacuate military posts north of the 31st parallel. In March of 1797, Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas on the Chickasaw Bluffs and Fort Confederation on

²⁴Carondelet to Alcudia, No. 10, Confidential, June 11, 1793. On the actual building of the fort and its three-year existence, see James P. Pate, "The Fort of the Confederation: The Spanish on the Upper Tombigbee," Unpublished paper read to the Alabama Historical Association, Birmingham, April 28, 1972, and being considered for publication in the *Alabama Review*.

²⁵Carondelet to Luis de Las Casas, No. 82, Confidential, New Orleans, June 11, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1447. A translation is in the W.P.A., Dispatches of Spanish Governors, Carondelet, VIII, 404-405.

the Tombigbee Bluffs were both evacuated.²⁶ Spain's final retreat to Mexico would ensue in all too brief a time. And then there would be Louisiana and Texas!

²⁶De la Villebeuvre led the troops from Fort Confederation, where he had served as last Spanish commandant, to "New Fort Tombecbe"—Fort San Esteban de Tombecbe, down the Tombigbee River. It is possible to ascertain from pay records that the troops left the former on March 17 and arrived at the latter on March 18, 1797. Juan Buenaventura Morales to Pedro Varela y Ulloa, No. 9, Confidential, New Orleans, March 31, 1797, AHN, EST., leg. 3902; certification of Francisco Fontanillas, San Esteban, April 30, 1797, AGI, PC, leg. 688.

THE HOLTVILLE SCHOOL

A PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION EXPERIMENT

by

William B. Lauderdale

Twenty seven miles northwest of Montgomery, Alabama, and one mile beyond the community of Slap-Out (in reference to a once-popular song, a huge billboard announces that Slap-Out is "where most of the stars fell") stands the white stucco, Spanish-styled, consolidated Holtville School. That school sits in the center of what was, during the Depression years, one of the most economically destitute counties in the state of Alabama. As the Depression began, there were no paved roads in the Holtville community, no telephones, no water system, and no indoor toilets. There were few industries except for small farms, and the land was red clay and poor. "In their eroded fields farmers raised little but weevil-infested cotton, scrawny chickens, and razer-backed hogs. Their wives perspired over hot wood stoves and set unvarying suppers of corn pone, fat back, and hominy grits."¹ Hookworm infection was rampant and there was wide spread whooping cough, pellagra, and measles. The sparse population was politically, socially, and religiously conservative. In that setting and in the World War II years, that Holtville school of approximately 500 students and 18 faculty would become one of the nation's most innovative and well-known progressive schools.

Initially, curricular and pedagogical changes at the Holtville school began hesitantly and without benefit of any coherent philosophy of education. Doing new things and new ways of doing old things were begun in response to specific and immediate needs, both in the school and in the community. Slowly, a philosophy began to emerge and by the middle 1940's could be articulated as a consistent if admittedly a very general set of theoretical constructs. Because the philosophy and innovative practices of the Holtville school were presented essentially in the popular press and aimed at a low audience, inade-

¹Blake Clark, "'Know-How' at Holtville," *The Rotarian* (May, 1946), 17.

quate attention was given in the literature to concerns of significance in educational theory. This essay represents an historical investigation of several of those unattended issues — namely, the factors which contributed to educational change in a rather isolated school situated in a conservative community, the relationship of the Holtville innovations to the broader progressive education movement in America, and those factors which affected the decline of progressive practices and the resumption of a conventional curriculum at Holtville.

What the popular press did print was uniformly positive in praise of the Holtville program. With that program, according to *The Reader's Digest*, "the surplus energy of young people has been harnessed into a powerful engine vitalizing the whole community."² *The Rotarian* claimed "there's a new spirit in Holtville . . . [and] the boys and girls . . . know it's a prosperous, upstanding community because they've made it that way themselves."³ *Life* magazine published a four page spread on Holtville High School, labeling the school as a place that "has completely taken a lead in all community life by making the community a better, richer place in which to live."⁴ The federal government was so impressed with the program that the State Department's Office of Education filmed "The Story of Holtville," translated it into twelve languages and marked it for distribution in twenty-two countries of Europe and South America as part of the United States Cultural and Information Program.⁵ Through such efforts by the popular media, Holtville attained fame without the hardships or benefits of serious criticism. For a school as radically different as Holtville, there existed in the literature a general acceptance or tolerance not enjoyed by other experimental progressive schools of that era.

²Stuart Chase, "Bring Our Youngsters Into the Community," *The Reader's Digest*, XL (January, 1942), 9.

³Clark, " 'Know-How' at Holtville," 56.

⁴"Democracy in U.S. Schools: Holtville, Ala.," *Life*, X (January 13, 1941), 68.

⁵Bill Edwards, "Story of Education in Holtville Brings Student's Life to Screen," *The Birmingham Post*, October 31, 1947. A number of newspaper articles and editorials concerning the making and showing of the film "The Story of Holtville" were printed also in *The Alabama Journal* and *The Montgomery Advertiser* in 1947-48. The film was made during October and November, 1947, by the International Motion Picture Division, Office of Education and Information, State Department, Washington, D.C. A copy of the film, not for distribution, is housed at the Holtville school.

The Holtville school was marked for distinction even before anyone thought of changing the program. A new school building was needed in the mid-1920s, and the county superintendent of education and the local board of education requested the counsel of the Alabama State Superintendent of Education, Dr. Arthur F. Harmon. After a tour of the school facilities, agreement was reached that a new structure should be built. Dr. Harmon then took his walking cane and in the sand traced out a design of a school he had seen and admired on a trip he had taken to California. Two architects were present and they transferred the design to paper.⁶ Construction began soon after that meeting, and the building was completed in 1929.

There was a striking incongruity between the new building and the physical appearance in the surrounding home dwellings. In describing the community of Holtville of that era, Blake Clark noted "its unpainted frame houses were spotted with black where weather-beaten boards had rotted. Dirt yards were dusty in summer and muddy in winter. The inevitable Chic Sale retreat leaned in the corner of the barn lot."⁷ In the midst of that stood the new school — pure white stucco and of Spanish design. The large central auditorium contained arched windows and large front columns extended with the breezeways, leading to wings on either side. One wing housed elementary and the other high school classrooms, both having small reproductions of the central auditorium. Decorations of brown and green tile graced the front of the building. It is not difficult to imagine the ease with which the school became the center for community activity nor unreasonable to speculate that such an imposing structure lent itself to, and actually encouraged, the development of a community-school concept.

One year before the building was completed, two men were hired who would prove to be critical to the development of Holtville as a progressive school. Historically, the success of a progressive school seems to depend less on the nature of programs than on the power of certain personalities within the school. For Holtville, it would be James Chrietzberg as principal and

⁶Florence C. Strock Abrams, "Stately White Spanish Building," *The Wetumpka Herald*, June 20, 1968.

⁷Clark, "'Know How' at Holtville," 17.

John Formby as vocational agricultural teacher, who would demonstrate remarkable dedication to a community-school concept and who would, by the strength of their personalities, fashion a progressive program in a stronghold of political, social, and religious conservatism.

In spite of what curriculum specialists such as John D. McNeil have indicated recently, the program was not associated ideologically with the brand of social reconstructionism espoused by such reformers as George Counts or Theodore Brameld.⁸ Rather, the Holtville experiment anticipated by several years Life Adjustment Education, and it focused on key aspects of that movement. The central features of Life Adjustment Education on which Holtville concentrated were community involvement in school affairs, the need for supervised program of work experience for most high school students and the importance of "functional experiences in the areas of practical arts, home and family life, health and physical fitness. . . ."⁹

Having completed his studies at Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University), John Formby arrived at Holtville in 1928. He immediately conducted a survey to determine local needs in order to delineate the methods by which the school might best serve the community. Because the farming situation was so bad, the list of needs was long, but a leading request was for a threshing machine. Oats was a Holtville crop that had to be used rather than marketed because no thresher was available. Through the Farm Security Administration, the school obtained a loan and a thresher was purchased. The vocational agriculture students used the machine both as a learning experience and as a service to the farmers. The small fee charged for the service was used to repay the loan. The students learned, the farmers profited and the school made money with which to purchase other equipment. Thereby began a most incredible development where a school would become not only the center of activity in a community but also a major industry for the community.

Farmers around Holtville were losing 25 per cent of the

⁸John D. McNeil, *Curriculum* (Boston, 1977), 19-24.

⁹United States Office of Education, "Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth" (Washington, n.d.), 17, found in Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York, 1961), 335.

meat they slaughtered because of inadequate processing. The school built the first refrigeration plant, quick freeze room, and locker storage in the area. Alternative ways of preserving meat were also available to the farmers through the school. Mr. Formby noted that the services provided were thorough — “We would kill the hog, chill him out, cut him up, cure him, smoke the meat and give the product back to the farmer here as a finished product.”¹⁰ In one year, the students handled about 95,000 pounds of pork and 6,000 pounds of beef, serving 655 customers.¹¹ In a typical month, the boys would spray 5,000 orchard trees with a school-owned power sprayer, contour plow 100 acres of farm land with three school-owned tractors,¹² and hatch and sell over 3,000 chicks from the school-owned hatchery.¹³ The girls, under the supervision of the home economics teacher, Mrs. Holt, ran a fully functioning cannery plant that had been scavenged from a defunct federal relief project. They were able to process over 10,000 cans of meat, fruits and vegetables a summer.¹⁴ Other profitable community services that doubled as vocational training included a school barber shop, a beauty parlor, a farm repair shop, a print shop, and electrical wiring done on contract. In the science classes the students developed, packaged, and marketed hand cream, tooth powder, corn, and varnish remover. A community recreational center was created at the school and the most popular activities were bowling on a student-constructed alley and attending a student-operated movie. These and other profitable ventures required the establishment of a student-run bank that would transact business up to \$750 per day.¹⁵

These projects were intended as learning experiences and

¹⁰Taken from a tape recording of the author's interview with Mr. John Formby in Holtville, Alabama, March 20, 1978, hereafter cited as Formby interview.

¹¹Whilden Wallace, James Chrietberg, and Verner M. Sims, *The Story of Holtville* (Deatsville, Alabama: Holtville High School Press, 1944), 150. This paperbound book is a narrative account of what happened at Holtville during the experimental years, written in story form and using data from a 1942 Faculty Report to the Director of the Southern Study. The authors felt that the Faculty Report was too technical and they wanted to tell the Holtville story in a more readable fashion.

¹²*Ibid.*, 112.

¹³Maxine Davis, “Lots Goes On Here,” *Country Gentleman* (March, 1941), 67.

¹⁴Wallace *et al.*, *The Story of Holtville*, 147.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 57.

vocational training, but they also allowed a significant monetary return for the purchase of school equipment, materials, and construction. However, such returns were inadequate for the needs of a school that provided community services requiring very expensive equipment and a construction program that created a ten-building campus. To support these activities, the administration and faculty allowed no opportunity to escape their attention in the constant search for sources of funding. Obviously, some monies came from state and county appropriations. Further, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools provided assistance. But Holtville pressed beyond these typical agencies to demonstrate unusual resourcefulness in finding what they needed. For example, the school initiated several projects jointly with the National Youth Administration, and these efforts paid off not only in programs and material but also in substantial on-campus building and construction. Aid was sought by the school from a number of federal agricultural programs, and loans were obtained from the Federal Security Administration at 3 per cent interest. As the following vignette should illustrate, obtaining materials could require also grit and tenacity:

United States Senator from Alabama, Lister Hill, had successfully introduced a bill in Congress that allowed Army surplus materials to be donated to schools. Mr. Formby repeatedly visited area Army bases in hopes of getting vocational equipment and was repeatedly turned away, in some cases without even making it past the post gate. He reported this to a community resource group, and they promptly bought him a train ticket to Washington, D.C. His best contact was Senator Hill himself, a Senator chagrined that people from his own state were not being assisted by his bill. He sent Mr. Formby directly to the Chief of Staff of the United States Army who personally called the Chief of Staff, Fifth Army, Atlanta Headquarters, to say that he was sending a gentleman from Holtville, Alabama, for the purpose of obtaining surplus equipment and, he added a little testily for emphasis, "if you don't have what he wants, you help him find it."

When Mr. Formby arrived in Atlanta, the Army staff was, in his words, "looking for him." The initial contact produced

four large tractor-trailer loads of equipment. The school eventually received, under the provisions of the bill, a brand new crank shaft grinding machine, twelve gas-driven electric welders, and fourteen electric-driven electric welders. For building dams, fish ponds, and watering holes, they obtained two draglines, an angledozer, a bulldozer, ditching machine, road patrol, and a large tractor-trailer for transportation of the earth moving equipment. The spectacular result of such enterprising ways was a school that was able to make available to a poverty ridden community the services of its youth, using equipment that in the 1940s was valued at one-half million dollars.¹⁶

Granted, all activities noted thus far are associated with vocational education. Such involvements may be necessary, but they certainly are not sufficient to warrant a label of progressivism generally or Life Adjustment Education specifically. In fact, until the late 1930s, the Holtville school remained distinctly non-progressive in substantial ways. There were regular classroom tests, subject-centered teaching, standardized examinations, report cards, letter grades, and a highly structured school schedule. A legitimate date to mark the turning point of Holtville's commitment to progressive education is 1938 when the faculty initiated broad-based curriculum reform. However, the establishment of a context whereby that reform could take place had been nurtured through the activities of a decade. Namely, the faculty under Chrietzberg had gained acceptance by, and the confidence of, the community at large. The beauty and spaciousness of the physical plant itself encouraged a community-school concept. The vocational efforts received "good press," and the community took pride in such notoriety and hoped it would continue. People in Holtville had grown comfortable with the idea that education could affect directly the physical conditions and life-style of the community itself. Most important, members of the community had grown accustomed to the presence of educational change. These were the factors that set the context for, and gave impetus to, the establishment of Holtville as a progressive school. The event that sparked curriculum reform in 1938 was the invitation to the Holtville school to participate in an experimental project conducted by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

¹⁶Formby interview.

The Southern Association Study in Secondary Schools and Colleges, known as the Southern Study, was the work of the Commission on Curricular Problems and Research, a body established in 1935 by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Although progressive curriculum reform on a state-wide basis had been going on in the South since 1929, no large scale "controlled experimentation" had been coordinated on a regional level.¹⁷ Some southern educators had been provoked that the South was not represented in the Eight-Year Study instituted by the Progressive Education Association in 1932. The Southern Study was to some extent an attempt to rectify that omission. A number of Eight-Year Study personnel were used in a variety of ways, and the successes and failures of the Eight-Year Study were constantly monitored to the advantage of the Southern Study.¹⁸ Although the Southern Study eventually deviated from the format of the Eight-Year Study, the similarities were substantial.

The Commission on Curricular Problems and Research selected as participants thirty-three Southern schools and work began in 1938. For the faculties and schools involved, the Commission supplied financial assistance and expertise for workshops and conferences, scholarships and grants-in-aid, on-site consultantships, and summer programs at Southern institutions of higher learning. New educational practices were to be developed largely by the local participants, and each school was expected to create a unique program of reform. Early in 1938 Holtville was selected as a Southern Study School and that summer James Chrietzberg, along with three of his teachers, attended a six-week Southern Study workshop at Vanderbilt University.¹⁹ A commitment to progressive reform at Holtville was thereby formally established.

Over a period of time and after a good deal of committee and individual study, a consensus evolved on the part of the Holtville faculty

¹⁷Frank Jenkins, Druzilla Kent, Verner Sims, and Eugene Waters, "Cooperative Study for the Improvement of Education," *Southern Association Quarterly*, X (February, 1946), 12.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁹Wallace *et al.*, *The Story of Holtville*, 160.

. . . that personality growth and development, health and physical development, economic well-being, the ability to solve the many commonplace problems around the school, in the home, and the community, and similar problems should be the real aims of education.²⁰

Because of the precedent set by and success of the vocational efforts prior to 1938, the progressive orientation continued throughout the 1940s to focus on using the school to improve the physical, economic, social and recreational conditions in the community.

With the assistance of Southern Association consultants, summer workshops for the faculty and help from the state college at Auburn, a curriculum model developed at Holtville on the secondary school level that was unique, radically progressive, and highly individualized. Each student, with parental assistance, selected a vocation or a generalized goal that became "the focal point for his learning and all his courses (were) pointed at it."²¹ It was on the basis of that vocation or goal that the student selected an advisor from among the teachers.

During the latter part of the school year, the student worked closely with the advisor on developing a plan of study for the next year. Always keeping in mind the general goal and previous skills attained, provisions were made through the plan to further refine and give direction to learning. When school resumed in September, plans were solidified in terms of specifying the organized groups and activities in which the individual would participate. By 1943, there were 119 different groups and activities, ranging from the traditional algebra, chemistry, and Spanish to the more non-traditional gardening, sewing, and salesmanship groups.²²

The school day was organized around four, ninety-minute blocks. This arrangement gave some basic structure for planning, but the blocks lasted long enough to allow for a great

²⁰James Chrietberg, "A Rural High School and its Community," *Southern Association Quarterly*, III, (August, 1939), 469.

²¹Milbrey Frazer Covert, "A Report on Holtville," *Southern Agriculturist* (January, 1948) 19.

²²Wallace et al., *The Story of Holtville*, 32-33.

deal of flexible scheduling of individual programs. Each day the student planned specific activities for those blocks of time to meet both his or her intermediate as well as long-range goals.

In the home room, the teacher examined each student's plans, helping to see that he had a balanced day if at all possible — some indoor work, some outdoor work; a certain amount of study, something requiring the use of the hands; some individual work, some group work; a reasonable amount of play; some service to other people, some work on personal goals.²³

Serious attempts were made to interrelate activities. For example, the creation of a plan of study was itself used as an exercise in writing skills and the document was checked carefully by an English teacher. This procedure was also used with project proposals, whether group or individual. In the area of mathematics, the actual problems that boys encountered in their farming efforts required computation skills, and mathematics was thus learned as a real-life activity. The science of nutrition was learned and the diets of families improved as home economics students were assigned projects for planning and preparing well-balanced meals. Whenever possible, subject matter was to be learned through working on actual life problems.

One difficulty faced by every progressive school involved the process of student evaluation. The traditional practice of periodically rating students by use of letter grades was incongruent with the entire progressive mode of the Holtville school. Therefore a system of reporting was devised in which each student completed a written self-evaluation approximately every six weeks. This report included a statement of aims in terms of personality growth, social learning, and academics along with an itemized account of accomplishments. The report was included in a folder containing samples of the student's work and a detailed written evaluation of the student by the teachers. The folder was shared with the parents who were themselves encouraged to enter comments. Further, provisions were made

²³*Ibid.*, 63.

for program and faculty evaluations by the students.

As was the case with the Eight-Year Study, the college bound student from Holtville did not seem to be hampered academically by the flexible scheduling, self-directed learning, and interrelating of subject matter. Of course, the sample size from Holtville was too small to warrant generalizations or infer substantive conclusions. For example the class of 1942 had only six people out of sixty-two graduates go on to college.²⁴ However, those who did go to college during the years of the Southern Study did extremely well. Discussing that era, Blake Clark notes that "a comparative record of Alabama high school graduates in various colleges shows that Holtville High boys and girls were first one year, and always rank in the top quarter."²⁵ Further, Mr. Chrietzberg reported that standard achievement and ability test scores were unaffected by the switch to progressive techniques.²⁶

Holtville was at its peak as an innovative and progressive school when the Southern Study ended in 1944. The school had achieved national acclaim, and the community that supported it had itself been revitalized. A beautification program initiated and sustained by the students had given the homes and yards a new and brighter look. Agricultural education and home economics had changed radically the diets provided in the homes and the earning power of the farms themselves. School services in the area of health and dental care also affected positively the physical well-being of Holtville students. Community recreation was centered in the school. Most important, students were given substantial responsibility for directing their own education although the atmosphere of the school certainly provided pressure for organizing learning around the world of work.

The Holtville school could have served as a model for the Life Adjustment Education movement that developed in the late 1940s. Ironically, the articulation of a progressive philosophy at Holtville emerged as a result of initiating certain educational practices while the prime task of Life Adjustment Edu-

²⁴*Ibid.*, 141.

²⁵Blake Clark, "Holtville Youth Leads the Way," *Readers Digest* (June, 1946), 68.

²⁶Wallace *et al.*, *The Story of Holtville*, 76.

cation was one of "translating conventional progressive wisdom into contemporary educational practices."²⁷ Of further irony, the experimental programs at Holtville were slowly being dismantled as Life Adjustment Education was gaining momentum.

In his dissertation entitled "The Eight-Year Study — Eight Years Later," Frederick Redefer reported that little remained of any experimental programs in all thirty high schools that participated in the Eight-Year Study.²⁸ Progressive schools generally have a way of returning to that which is conventional. Holtville was to be no exception. Some of the factors that contributed to the decline of that experimental program are common to those that advanced the loss of the national progressive education movement. Other factors are unique to the Holtville experience.

Two devastating events, both fires, played a major role in crippling the service function of the Holtville school to the community. The first fire occurred in 1945, destroying the refrigeration plant, hatchery, canning plant, dehydration plant, printing press, and dark room. Damage was estimated at \$75,000 and the school had no insurance against such a loss.²⁹ Money was borrowed and the facilities were rebuilt and a fire engine purchased. In 1949, a fire started in the wood shop, spread to the machine shop, the automobile mechanic shop, the quick freeze plant, the canning plant and the grist mill. The estimated damage this time was \$250,000.³⁰ To add humiliation to the loss, the fire truck stood with a dead battery outside the building that housed the automobile mechanic shop and itself was burned. Again, some rebuilding was done but it was that second fire, according to Mr. Formby, that disabled the vocational aspects of the program in a substantial way.³¹ Further, small businesses were developing in Elmore County which lessened the need for the school's involvement in service areas. Some of these activities were begun as a part of the school program and then sold to private ownership, e.g., a wood working plant that provided forty-five jobs in the community.³²

²⁷Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 335.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 256.

²⁹Covert, "A Report on Holtville."

³⁰"Famous Holtville High is Burned," *The Birmingham Post* (May 12, 1949), 1.

³¹Formby interview.

³²Film, "The Story of Holtville."

It is clear also that there was never any intention of sustaining all of the innovations created during the period of the Southern study. It was, as Mr. Chrietzberg's daughter, Mrs. Florence Abrams, stressed, an experimental study. She also pointed out that the easy access was diminished to material for the school from the military.³³ Further, many of the experimental programs ran counter to Alabama State Department of Education regulations, and it is a credit to that agency that they released Holtville from such requirements during the period of the Southern Study.³⁴ However, these special arrangements which had allowed Holtville tremendous latitude for experimentation could not be continued indefinitely.

Many of the teachers in the 1930s and 1940s were single and boarded out in the community or lived in the teacherage on the school grounds. As Mrs. Abrams pointed out, the school and the community were their chief concerns and they were willing to focus all their time and energy on the experimental program.³⁵ The teaching profession was changing after World War II in such a way that such singularity of purpose, even in rural settings, was no longer typical.

The national conservative swing in the 1950s extended to the state of Alabama and that may be the most significant factor affecting the decline of the experimental program at Holtville. In Alabama, the conservative reaction was coalesced through an election for a State Superintendent of Education.

W. J. Terry rode the crest of the conservative swing and campaigned for the state superintendency on the promise to return the schools to quality education of former times when education meant the development of the intellect through the subject matter disciplines. Though he avoided the typical polemics against progressive education, his message was clear and his campaign successful. He became Alabama's State Superintendent of Education in 1951.³⁶

³³Taken from a tape recording of the author's interview with Mrs. Florence Abrams in Montgomery, Alabama, February 21, 1978, hereafter cited as Abrams interview.

³⁴Film, "The Story of Holtville."

³⁵Abrams interview.

³⁶William B. Lauderdale, "A Progressive Era for Education in Alabama (1935-1951)," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII, (Spring, 1975), 61.

Key personnel that supported progressive programs left the State Department of Education. A new State Course of Study was written reflecting an extremely conservative philosophy of education. There was an influx of people into Elmore County in the 1950s who supported strongly the conservative reaction that was evident state-wide. County-wide, there developed a diminishing vocational orientation to the lay public's expectation of the school and an expanding need for assurances that the young people were learning the basics.³⁷

By the time Mr. Chrietzberg retired in 1959, the school that he had led to national acclaim and notoriety for its radical innovations had settled into a rather conventional mode with a fairly conservative curriculum. Mr. Chrietzberg did not find this disillusioning. He had started the experimental program as a response to the needs and desires of the local community and to the principle of local control he held true when his school became conservative.

The Holtville School still stands as a remarkable structure in what remains a very rural county in Alabama. The main building has recently been added to the Alabama Register of Landmarks and Heritage and so funds may now be available for much needed repairs. More important, such registration insures preservation. In spite of all the new school plant advantages with modular designs, open spaces, and movable walls, there is something very special about the character of a building with solid brass thresholds beneath entrance doors which hang below arched sixteen-paned windows and lead to hallways with high ceilings, wainscoting, and creaky hardwood floors.

Demographic changes continue to occur in the Holtville community. There is a decreasing proportion of families who make their living solely by farming. People who work in Montgomery and even Birmingham are moving into the county to escape city life and often to build on lake property provided by the back waters of Jordan Dam. The migration allows for increasing social and economic heterogeneity and diversity of thought, belief, and value systems.

³⁷Taken from a tape recording of the author's interview with the present principal of the Holtville school, Mr. William Earnest, in Holtville, Alabama, March 20, 1978.

The school continues to serve grades one through twelve, and there are now enrolled slightly more than 1,000 students. The curriculum is single tracked and the only evidence of a vocational program is in the area of industrial arts, which can be taken as an elective. The school is still used consistently as a meeting place for community organizations. Unfortunately but unavoidably, the central auditorium has been turned into classroom space, and this arrangement has curbed substantially the kinds of programs that the school can accommodate. Principal William Earnest hopes to re-establish the auditorium in the next several years for school and community events. The most obvious and significant change from the progressive era is that the student body is now 19 per cent black. All of the students see "The Story of Holtville" and a substantial number of white children can identify relatives and other members of the community who had roles in the film. Through the film and from the parents many students come to know that the Holtville school has an important heritage. It would be interesting to know if that affects even partially the atmosphere of the school.³⁸

³⁸My wife, Vicki, and I have consistent and frequent contact with public schools in Alabama, and Holtville to us had a very special feeling. There seems to be an absence of any racial tensions, and the students appear unusually relaxed, extremely pleasant and considerate. They smile and speak to strangers who pass, and they perform simple courtesies willingly and with ease. If their behavior in the school does not come from the knowledge of its history, such behavior certainly seems a tribute to it.

The People of
Tallapoosa County, Alabama,
and the
Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary
Commission

extend you an earnest and cordial invitation
to be present at the site of the
Battle Ground, twelve miles north of Dadeville,
on Saturday, July 4, 1914,
at 10:00 o'clock a. m.
for the celebration of the
One Hundredth Anniversary of the
Battle of Horseshoe Bend,
fought between the American forces
and the
Creek Indians
at that point, on March 27, 1814

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND

by

Paul A. Ghioto

When the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the final battle of the Creek Indian War, was observed on Saturday July 4, 1914, more people visited the battle site than on any previous occasion — or any date since. The crowd that festive summer day was estimated at being from eight to ten thousand people.

Planning for the big event first began in March, 1907 when Decatur banker Samuel Sinclair Broadus visited the historic peninsula in Tallapoosa County. Aware of the battle's national significance, he pressed the Alabama Legislature for creation of a special committee to plan a proper centennial celebration.

Accepting Sinclair's arguments, the Legislature established the Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary Commission on August 6, 1907, and appropriated a sum of \$2500.00 for expenses. Members of the original Commission (who served without pay) were as follows: chairman, Gov. Braxton Bragg Comer; secretary, Dr. Thomas McAdory Owen, Director of the Ala. Dept. of Archives and History; Samuel Blount Brewer, Tuskegee; Thomas Lafayette Bulger, Dadeville; John William Overton, Wedowee; Felix L. Smith, Rockford; and James William Strother, Dadeville.

The Commission met formally for the first time in February, 1909. On July 3, 1909, it sponsored a holiday picnic at Horseshoe Bend. This occasion laid the groundwork for the greater festivities to come five years later. Governor Comer, Commission of Agriculture and Industries J. A. Wilkinson, and Fifth District U. S. Congressman J. Thomas Heflin were principal speakers.¹

¹*Tallapoosa Courier*, (Camp Hill, Ala.) Thursday July 8, 1909. On file in Tallapoosa County Courthouse.

The nucleus of the present Horseshoe Bend National Military Park was acquired by the Commission on January 18, 1911 when it bought 5.1 acres of land for the sum of one dollar from Mrs. Nora E. Miller of Dadeville. Mrs. Miller, state historian for the recently formed U. S. Society of the Daughters of 1812, was an enthusiastic supporter of the battlefield for national park status. In the deed of sale she had written that if a monument to Andrew Jackson's victorious army was not erected on the Gun Hill acreage within four years, that the land would revert to her possession.²

To prevent this, Representative Heflin sought passage of a monument bill. On April 2, 1914, the 63rd Congress authorized the appropriation of \$5000.00 for a suitable memorial stone to mark the spot where Jackson's force broke forever the power of the Creek Nation.³

The actual centennial of the battle was observed on March 27, 1914 at the county courthouse in Dadeville when, following the customary speechmaking, a bronze plaque was unveiled. The inscription, in part, reads: "This tablet is placed by Tallapoosa County in commemoration of the One hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend fought within its limits on March 27, 1814. There the Creek Indians, led by Menawa and Other Chiefs, were defeated . . . This battle . . . brought peace to the Southern frontier and made possible the speedy opening up of a large part of the State of Alabama to civilization."⁴

The greater anniversary observance was scheduled for Saturday, July 4th. As the date approached, preparations began in earnest.

²Deed, Mrs. Nora E. Miller to Horseshoe Bend Battle Anniversary Commission, January 18, 1911. Copy on file at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park.

³U. S. Congress, House, *An Act to appropriate \$5000 to erect a suitable monument at the battle ground at the Horse Shoe, on the Tallapoosa River, in the State of Alabama*. Pub. L. 79, 63rd Cong., 1st sess., H. R. 9671, *Sunday Civil Appropriations Act. Statutes at Large* Vol. XXXVIII, 636. Made of unpolished North Carolina granite, the Congressional Monument was erected on the battlefield in August, 1918 and formally transferred from the War Department to the State of Alabama on November 11.

⁴Program and Order of Exercises, celebration of Battle's One Hundredth Anniversary by Tallapoosa County, March 27, 1914.

J. B. Rylance, Dadeville, headed the Commission's Transportation Committee. Roads were not the best then and his job was not an easy one.

On May 29, he suggested in a newspaper article that "in order to avoid confusion and accidents on July 4th . . . automobile drivers are earnestly requested . . . not to use the state highway between Dadeville and a point one mile south of Miller's Bridge." Wagons and buggy drivers were allowed to use the state highway. Rylance promised that the alternate route would be "marked and in good condition."

On June 5, and again on the 12th he advertised for rental of fifty wagons, surreys and automobiles to transport visitors to Horseshoe Bend on July 4th. Good pay was offered.

Rylance advised all overnight visitors who wished hotel accommodations in Dadeville to telegraph ahead and obtain reservations. Townspeople were also asked to help provide housing for the hundreds of guests expected.

The week before the celebration, Rylance travelled to Montgomery and on his return placed flags at strategic road points to direct travellers to Horseshoe Bend. Those coming by automobile from the capital were to come by way of Tallassee.⁵

On the battlefield, a speaker's stand was erected, and Mrs. Miller, who owned the surrounding fields, ordered them cleared for the occasion. By Friday morning, July 3, visitors were already beginning to arrive and set up camp for the night.

Montgomery *Advertiser* reporter Paul Stevenson was in Dadeville Friday night and filed the following report: "All Dadeville is aglow tonight and all offices, stores, and residences are bedecked in flags and bunting. Japanese lanterns are swinging in all parts of town and the place is imbued with true holiday spirit. All trains into Dadeville tonight were met by automobiles and visitors were spirited to their respective hotels."

That evening Governor and Mrs. Emmett O'Neal, and their daughter Olivia, were the principal guests at a reception given

⁵Dadeville *Spot Cash*, May 29, June 5, 12, July 3, 1914.

by the Tohopeka Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at the Tallapoosa County High School building. A heavy rain fell and forced the punch bowls and handshaking inside from the front lawn but did not dampen the merriment of those who crowded into the hall and auditorium. Music was furnished by the East Alabama Boys Industrial School Band.

At early light on Saturday morning, "automobiles, wagons and every other description of conveyance . . . kept up a steady procession out of town" for the battlefield.⁶

One family journeyed by wagon from Reeltown, 35 miles to the south. Having left home at about 3 a.m., they finally arrived at eleven. Then, later that same day, they began the return trip.

Mrs. Nora Blankenship Gunn came from Equality, Alabama. She recalled in 1978 how her father, W. M. Blankenship, had promised to take the family to the celebration if everyone "worked real hard" in the meantime. She remembers that "it had not rained in eleven weeks" — everyone said, "you can't get there in a covered wagon for the dust was ankle deep."

Well, Daddy tried to pay us to stay home — but we had chopped cotton for my brother and had a couple of dollars. We wanted to go. Soon, Friday the third day of July came and we started out. My mother and my brother's wife in a buggy. My Daddy, my older brother, and two children, his father-in-law, my younger brother and myself went in the covered wagon. I was fourteen years old.

It rained a slow rain all afternoon and at last settled the dust. We made camp near a big spring.

There must have been 250 people camped there that night for most people had to go by wagon or buggy. There were a few cars the well-to-do came in.⁷

⁶Montgomery *Advertiser*, July 4, 1914.

⁷Nora Blankenship Gunn to R. Wayne Hay, Horseshoe Bend NMP, May 30, 1978 (Horseshoe Bend National Military Park).

A Montgomery reporter later estimated the number of campers at close to 2000.

In the Dadeville area, Saturday morning's weather was cloudy without rain. The dust was laid by Friday night's showers making travelling conditions perfect. At noon the sun appeared.

Opening ceremonies began at 10 a.m. under the shade of large hardwood trees. Governor O'Neal presided over the day's exercises, welcomed those present, and delivered a speech about the battle's history and its importance to the modern citizen. In speaking of the courage and dedication displayed by both sides a hundred years ago he said:

We boast that we live in a more civilized age, an age in which man's inventive skill and progress in arts and science, has added enormously to the comforts, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life. It is not, however, an age which breeds the stern, intrepid, and adventurous race of men, who penetrated the wilderness and with muskets in their hands, hewed down these forests, and laid deep and permanent, the foundations of great imperial commonwealths.

It is to be hoped that if, in the future, we are menaced by the same danger which confronted these adventurous pioneers, that we will meet and solve the crisis with the same courage and heroic perseverance and brilliancy of achievement, which characterized the men that made the battle of the Horseshoe immortal in American history.

The Creeks, who with desperate courage resisted Jackson's invincible columnus, were native Alabamians. They were fighting for their homes and the graves of their dead. If, in the future, the soil of Alabama should be invaded by a foreign foe we should be content if her sons resisted the invaders with the same splendid courage which inspired these untutored savages in this bloody contest.⁸

⁸*Birmingham News*, July 5, 1914.

Mrs. B. F. Wilson, regent of the Hermitage Association in Nashville, Tennessee, followed the governor and spoke on her organization's effort to preserve the memory of Andrew Jackson and his homeplace.

Chancellor John Allison, also of Nashville, described the role that Tennessee played in the Creek War. An orator of the "Old South" school, he kept the crowd entertained throughout his address.

S. S. Broadus, when he spoke, called for a proper monument to commemorate the valiant deeds of Jackson's army. In closing, he introduced Mrs. Cherokee American Rogers, daughter of Colonel Gideon Morgan, a participant in the battle, to the crowd. Other descendants present were also introduced.

Miss Maud McLure Kelly, Birmingham lawyer and state president of the U. S. Daughters of 1812, presented to the State a granite marker. Placed at the eastern foot of Gun Hill, it marks the terminus of the trace Jackson's men cut through the wilderness from Tennessee to the Horseshoe. Thomas L. Bulger accepted the marker for the State and the Battle Anniversary Commission.

Congressman Heflin delivered the day's last speech. He outlined the Government's plan to erect a suitable monument on the battlefield saying:

We owe it to the memory of those brave men to perpetuate their deeds of valor and to keep aloft in the minds and hearts of the living their heroic service to their country.⁹

One of the day's highlights was a sham battle fought between Company G, Alabama State Militia, a 52 man contingent from Opelika, and the Company H from Alexander City. As the maneuvers were conducted, great clouds of dust were created, for the previous day's rain had not reached the battlefield. When a man fell, dust billowed high. A hospital detachment of militia from Montgomery stood by to attend any real injuries to soldiers and civilians.

⁹Montgomery *Advertiser*, July 5, 1914.

The speechmaking, sham battle, tours, and dinners were finished by late afternoon and the huge crowd began to disperse. Wearily, all climbed back into their conveyances for the long ride home.

S. J. Darby, editor of the *Alexander City News*, wrote: ". . . the people conducted themselves with perfect decorum so far as I know. There was no bloodshed, but I learned that one bootlegger was arrested. I learned also that there was plenty of beer out in a little house that had been built ostensibly for other and more natural purposes.

I was told that one had to be in possession of a certain tribal token before he was permitted to enter that seemingly necessary structure.

Good speeches were made by our orators, and by some that did not belong to us.

Cold drink stands were numerous; in fact, more than I ever saw before, and I learned they all belonged to a trust. The idea of cold drinks, parched peanuts and ham sandwiches being in the trust was novel to me and really it was the first time I ever met a trust face to face in the open. One thing I can say for a trust is, it gave me a square deal on a paper bag of parched peanuts for a nickel . . ."¹⁰

The centennial observance was a big success. Dr. Thomas Owen afterwards declared: "The citizens of Dadeville and Tallapoosa County showed themselves the best of hosts . . . Transportation, housing, clearing of grounds, subsistence, and other things were looked after with the thoroughness of a trained business man . . . The program was carried through without a single break."¹¹

Sixty-four years have passed since the centennial observance. The battlefield, however, has not been forgotten. Un-

¹⁰*Alexander City News*, July 10, 1914.

¹¹*Dadeville Spot Cash*, July 10, 1914.

til 1959, it served as cropland, annually yielding harvest of corn and cotton. Youngsters of all ages have camped overnight upon it, searched for military and Indian relics in its soil, and swum in the river along its edges.

In August, 1959, Horseshoe Bend National Military Park was finally established bringing to fruition the hopes and dreams of many people — many of whom were present during the big celebration in 1914.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hugh B. Hammett. *Hilary Abner Herbert: A Southerner Returns to the Union*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia For Promoting Useful Knowledge, Volume 110 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society. 1976. Pp. xvi, 264, \$5.00.)

Professor Hugh B. Hammett of the Rochester Institute of Technology has written a long-overdue biography of Hilary Abner Herbert, Congressman from Alabama for sixteen years and Secretary of the Navy under President Grover Cleveland from 1893 to 1897. The author's stated purpose is four-fold: to contribute further understanding to southern Reconstruction historiography; to discuss the "return of southerners to national life after 1877"; to introduce the reader to a kind of southern racial attitudes as seen in Herbert; and to rehearse the development of the "New American Navy" and Herbert's role in it.

Herbert's racial attitudes — those of the benovolent paternalist — were ingrained in him in his infancy (b. 1834), boyhood, and youth as he observed his father's treatment of his slaves in South Carolina (until 1846) and in Alabama. Professor Hammett concludes that Herbert "remained a paternalist *par excellence*" throughout his life.

In 1853 Herbert enrolled in the sophomore class at the University of Alabama. He quickly became the leader of a revolt over the regimen imposed on students by "Basil Manly, a Baptist preacher. . . ." Unfortunately Professor Hammett does not identify Manly as "Sr.", and as a man considered by many social-religious historians as one of the outstanding presidents of the University as well as a leading figure in the founding of The Southern Baptist Convention and The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. It was perhaps fortunate that "a Baptist preacher" expelled Herbert from the University because he continued his studies at the University of Virginia where Professor James P. Holcombe "undoubtedly" helped form Herbert's ardent belief in secession. Because of illness, Herbert never earned a degree at the University of Virginia

but returned to Alabama, studied law, was admitted to practice, and quickly joined the secessionist wing of Alabama Democracy.

Upon Lincoln's election, Herbert became an officer in the Eighth Alabama Infantry Regiment in the Army of Northern Virginia. Severely wounded at the Battle of the Wilderness, he retired from active service, but remained an apologist of the "Lost Cause" for the rest of his life. One of Professor Hammett's recurrent themes is that Herbert was thoroughly "nationalized" by his twenty years of public service in Washington from 1877 to 1897. Therefore, the author poses a paradox if not a contradiction, when he maintains that for Herbert "when it [the Civil War] ended, little else ever mattered again" and that Herbert "learned very little from the experience" remaining an outspoken advocate of the constitutionality of secession and states rights.

It is also in the chapter on the Civil War that Professor Hammett introduced his first historiographical discussion centered around Herbert's book, *The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences: Four Periods of American History* (1912). It is Herbert's "most ferocious attack on the northerners whose extremism he blamed for the Civil War." The author's commentary is about a book published fifteen years after Herbert ostensibly had been "Unionized" and seven years before his death. Many readers of the *Abolition Crusade* would hold that Herbert concludes that true constitutionalism, usurped by the abolitionists from 1831 to 1861, had been restored after 1877 with the redemption of the last southern states; in the end the constitutional principles for which the South had fought won out. In several of Herbert's papers this vindication of the South is seen as the will of God, a strong historical leit-motif, which Professor Hammett chooses not to exploit.

Professor Hammett's second venture into Reconstruction historiography appears in the chapter entitled "Redeeming Alabama." Herbert was active from 1867 to 1874 in the redemption of his state, to the neglect of his law practice, but Professor Hammett concludes that "in spite of Herbert's pride in listing himself among the 'Redeemers,' the objective researcher can only conclude that his role . . . was of no particular

significance." The "objective researcher" offers no proof for his generalization. The author's next move to prove that Herbert was not a typical Redeemer *a la* C. Vann Woodward is to minimize the role in Reconstruction historiography of Herbert's first book, *Why the Solid South? or Reconstruction and its Results* (1890). Herbert edited this book of essays by leading Redeemers and contributed three essays to it himself, prompting Professor Woodward to name him "the editor of the leading apology for the ultraconservative Redeemer regime. . . ." Professor Hammett contends that *Why the Solid South?* is "virtually unrecognized today even by specialists in southern history" and that Herbert's book has had "influence all out of proportion to its merit as a historical work, on scholarly writing concerning Reconstruction." In the first instance, Professor Hammett again offers no proof — no poll of historians of the South — to substantiate his generalization. Secondly, those who have read *Why the Solid South?* recognize it as a piece of propaganda to rebut the Lodge Bill, not as historical scholarship about Reconstruction. The author does subsequently refer to *Why the Solid South?* as "propaganda."

Herbert served as a Congressman from Alabama from 1877 to 1893. In discussing Herbert's career, Professor Hammett again sallies forth to refute Professor Woodward's contention that Herbert was one of the South's leading Bourbon apologists. The author admits that Herbert had a few typically Bourbon characteristics but concludes that he was a South Carolina agrarian conservative who did not "look forward to a better world, but to a re-created one," namely that of the ante-bellum South. "Undoubtedly [implying certitude; undisputed], Hilary Herbert was much closer to ideology and practice to the South Carolina Bourbons than to the Redeemers whom Professor Woodward has described." Having established the certainty of Herbert's view, Professor Hammett questions the undoubtable by qualifying it. He finds in Herbert's thinking a dualism: he was a committed southerner of the first rank with roots deep in ante-bellum history, but he was also forward looking — a view of Bourbonism akin to that of Professor Woodward. Saint George has not slain the dragon.

Professor Hammett devotes three of the later chapters of

his book (forty-three per cent of his narrative) to Herbert's membership or chairmanship of the House Committee on Naval Affairs (1885-1893) and secretaryship of the Navy (1893-1897). This twelve-year period of Herbert's life is well documented, organized, and balanced. Herbert carried his concept of gradualism (do not build too many ships too fast), developed on the naval affairs committee, into his secretaryship, a "perpetuation and enlargement of policies" effected by four previous secretaries of the Navy, a Republican and Democratic. Having placed Herbert in a proper context of sixteen years of the development of the "New American Navy," the reader is somewhat confounded when the author inserts an illustration of what appears to be the entire fleet, captioned "Hilary Herbert's legacy to the nation: The United States Navy, 1898." Furthermore, Professor Hammett gives proper credit to William Whitney and Benjamin Tracy (particularly the latter) for the development of the all steel Navy, but in his "Preface," he maintains that, "No man was more intimately connected with the rise of the "New American Navy" than Herbert — this for a man who was an anti-imperialist and simply enlarged on the policies of predecessors, gradually.

The final chapter of Professor Hammett's work is entitled: "Elder Statesman: Old Wine in New Flasks." In it he traces the final twenty-two years of Herbert's life. Herbert set up law practice in Washington with his son-in-law and developed a moneyed clientele, East and West, in a typical Bourbon fashion. But "as the years waned, Herbert seemed more and more to be a man who had lived beyond his time." He had helped to "midwife" the "New American Navy" and had been an "unapologetic 'New South man,'" but in the end it was the Old South that captured his heart. Then, quoting this reviewer, Professor Hammett states: "Herbert always hoped that the result of "Redemption" for the South would be a return to the ideas and values of the pre-Garrison era." In Herbert's mind this *had* been accomplished with the redemption of the southern states and with a resurgence of states rights sentiment in the nation at the turn of the century. In the opinion of the reviewer he satisfied himself and man of the disappearing "Brigadiers" that this was true by writing *The Abolition Crusade* in 1912.

Professor Hammett has written a biography of the third of three southern conservative cabinet members in President Grover Cleveland's second administration. His book is written with felicity and thoroughly documented and indexed. It is the subtitle of Professor Hammett's book, "A Southerner Returns to the Union," which may cause some difficulty for the reader. It suggests that Herbert was a forward-looking southerner, a typical Bourbon after the Woodward School. Throughout his work, however, the writer refutes this thesis by interpreting Herbert as an "Old South" reactionary. It remains to be seen if Professor Hammett's biography will take on the stature of Professor Dewey W. Grantham's biography of Hoke Smith or James A. Barnes' life-story of John G. Carlisle.

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Gary M. Fink and Merl E. Reed (Eds.), *Essays in Southern Labor History: Selected Papers, Southern Labor History Conference, 1976*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. pp. 275.)

The essays found in this volume are as a result of the first Southern Labor History Conference held on the campus of Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, April 1-3, 1976. Although the papers presented before the conference were as varied as were the author's chosen professions, each supported the main purpose of the Southern Labor History Association's attempt "to encourage the study and understanding of the rise and development of organized labor in the South and to promote the dissemination of that knowledge."

Although not all papers presented before the Labor Conference are included in this first volume, the reader is presented with a variety of subject matter ranging from the Knights of Labor to the Congress of Industrial Organization. By glancing through the table of contents, one can readily see the wealth of material presented. There is something for all labor enthusiast whether one's interests be in the area of textiles, coal, oil, transportation, or politics.

Contributors to this first volume of labor essays included Melton McLaurin and Stephen Brier, both of whom attempt to zero in on the successes and failures of the Knights of Labor to organize southern workers. Dennis Nolan, in collaboration with Donald Jones, present a specific analysis of unionism in the Textile Industry in the Piedmont Area, 1901-1932, while Bruce Raynor, in more general terms, presents a contemporary look at the textile workers in the South and predicts a bright future ahead.

A most interesting set of essays concerned the early attempts at unionism in the West Virginia coal fields. Daniel Jordan's "The Mingo War: 1919-1922," studies labor violence associated with unionism in this southern West Virginia coal county. His research is to be commended, but his paper raises many questions concerning the causes of violence which are never answered. Perhaps through the same diligent research, he may attempt one day to analyze those. David Corbin's article concerning "Frank Keeney and his rank-and-file leadership in West Virginia, 1912-1931," is an enlightening attempt to examine the United Mine Workers' trials and tribulations on the grass roots level by investigating local leaders and local union disturbances. However, it is quite clear from the outset that while Corbin analysis of his "hero" is from the standpoint of depicting what services may be rendered by men of ability and purpose in the more obscure positions within the UMWA, he is nevertheless caught up in the "Great Man" thesis and tends to be less objective in his treatment of cause-effect relationships.

The remaining six essays which are equally well presented and documented include: James C. Maroney, "The Texas-Louisiana Oil Field Strike of 1917;" Clyde Johnson, "CIO Oil Workers' Organizing Campaign in Texas, 1942;" Gerald Carpenter, "Public Opinion in the New Orleans Street Railway Strike of 1929-30;" James W. May, Jr., "Atlanta Transit Strike, 1949-1950, Prelude to Sale;" John E. Allen, "Eugene Talmadge and the Great Textile Strike in Georgia, September 1934;" and Daniel A. Powell, "PAC to COPE: Thirty-Two Years of Southern Labor in Politics."

The editors are to be commended both for their selection

of essays appearing in this first volume and for their decision to also publish the commentator's analysis of each paper presented at the initial Labor Conference. As with most publications there are a few drawbacks. The book is not totally free of technical errors and, in some instances, those misprints do provide some humor: While I feel certain that Norman Thomas would have appreciated knowing that he was considered "Normal," I have a suspicion that if given a choice, Thomas would have still preferred to be called Norman.

Don L. Fox, Jr.
Livingston University

August Meier and Elliott Rudwick. *Along the Color Line*
(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976)

Perhaps this collection's most striking feature is its evenness. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick include essays written more than twenty years ago which are as fresh and insightful as their newest collaboration, prepared especially for this volume. This indicates a depth and ability that is rarely found in scholarly endeavor. While there is a great deal in this volume that has been published elsewhere, the fashion in which Meier and Rudwick combine historical analysis with contemporary affairs is both interesting and useful.

The book's underlying theme is civil rights, and perhaps more specifically, nonviolent action. In the concluding essay, "The Origins of Nonviolent Direct Action in Afro-American Protest: A Note on Historical Discontinuities," they examine this aspect of the civil rights struggle. While nonviolent direct action has been used throughout this century, and while other historians see it as a continuum, Meier and Rudwick argue convincingly that each episode is an isolated response to repressive action taken by the white community. Furthermore, they see little connection between the black civil rights struggle and the other freedom movements (e.g., women's rights, labor reform, Mahatma Gandhi's activity), although once under way the black community adopted strategies from these various movements. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, for example, was

started without considering the earlier protest in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Meier and Rudwick conclude: "Thus the evidence indicates that direct action neither formed a continuous tradition in black protest, nor owed much to the strategies of other protest movements. Rather, we would argue that such tactics and strategies were continuously reinvented by blacks in response to shifting patterns of race relations and the changing status of blacks in American society" (p. 387).

Also of importance Meier and Rudwick, both individually and collectively, go beyond the obvious events to explode a number of widely held myths. To cite again the Montgomery Bus Boycott, they point out that integrated seating came as a result of the NAACP federal court suit and not from the boycott. In this instance they might have gone further and explained that the boycott was on the verge of collapse when the Supreme Court outlawed segregated seating.

While there is much in this work for specialists, it will be of more interest to historians peripherally interested in black history. The collection will be of special interest to students because here they will have the opportunity to see the collective wisdom of two leading historians presented in a variety of readable and fascinating essays.

Duncan R. Jamieson
University of Alabama

Harry P. Owens, (ed.), *Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1976. Notes and bibliography. \$3.50).

Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery is the product of a symposium held at the University of Mississippi in October, 1975 entitled "The Slave Experience in America: A Bicentennial Perspective." Essentially, this work contains the intellectual stances of seven prominent historians of slavery. Professor Carl Degler established the theme of the symposium with his paper, "The Irony of American Negro Slavery." For example, he notes that the closing of the foreign slave trade in 1808, which caused the South to rely on the natural repro-

duction of its slave force, "tightened the grip of slavery on the United States" (6). In order to facilitate this reproduction, slaveholders had to improve both the environment and the material conditions of their bondsmen. In analyzing secession, Degler claims that Southerners left the Union to protect the peculiar institution, whereas if they had done nothing, it would have remained secure.

Eugene Genovese explores the "role of American slave-owners and European landowning classes in the shaping of the world in which we now live" (27). He examines the breakdown of organic, feudalistic society, the rise of marketplace capitalism and the role of slave revolts in world history. "Slavery and the American Mind," by David B. Davis, discusses how Americans have dealt with slavery by a "process of denial" (52). Rather than acknowledging the necessity of human bondage to the economic national interest of the United States, Americans preferred to depict blacks as incapable of adjusting to the rigors of marketplace society. Thus, Negro slaves, living in a land which practiced Herrenvolk democracy, simply lacked the "capacity" (61) for freedom. Stanley Engerman reiterates the theme that he and Robert Fogel developed in *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974). After surveying the literature on both the economy and profitability of the peculiar institution, Engerman claims that "In terms of economic growth, total and per capita, the South was growing rapidly in the last antebellum decades, . . ." (91).

William Scarborough paints a sympathetic picture of the planter class, noting that blacks were "treated pretty well as slaves" (111) and that slave health care was adequate. John Blassingame views slavery through the eyes of the slave themselves. He develops the concept that high status in the slave community emerged from four factors: (1) mobility (2) freedom from supervision (3) opportunity to earn money and (4) providing direct services to other blacks. Hence, Scarborough's perspective is from the "top down," while Blassingame's is from the "bottom up."

The concluding section, Kenneth Stampp's "Slavery: The Historian's Burden," discusses the significance of the American

Revolution in the history of slavery. According to Stampp, slavery, as a field of historical inquiry, is still subject to vigorous debate and often violent disagreement.

An excellent, ten-page bibliographic essay accompanies this important book. *Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery* belongs on the shelf along with the recent works of Huggins, Owens, Blassingame and Gutman.

Michael Vaughan Woodward
University of Georgia

Gerald H. Gaither. *Blacks and the Populist Revolt. Ballots and Bigotry in the New South*. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1977). pp. 251. Appendix, bibliography, and index. \$9.75.

Professor Gaither's book has 198 pages of text. The narrative ends on p. 138 with the remaining pages being dedicated to twenty-three tables. Granted that these statistical charts and graphs serve a useful purpose, so many are supplied that they are difficult to digest.

Blacks and the Populist Revolt is, in many ways, a book without a thesis. Professor Gaither is probably on the right track in suggesting that there is simply no way to reduce something as complicated as the black response to Populism to dogmatic statements. Every assumption the writer makes is, as he clearly acknowledges, subject to dispute. For example, to charge that Bourbon Democrats committed mass election frauds in the Deep South's Black Belts, particularly in Alabama, is both true and commendable. Yet the author does not use this evidence as the basis for his conclusion that "Populism was never strong politically in areas of high concentration of black skin and black dirt." (p. 127). That the latter condition flowed from the first is not adequately emphasized.

One's response to Professor Gaither's statements will depend on one's own interpretation of events. The author has read widely in secondary sources, and he is an objective and fair appraiser of the material he skillfully quotes and evaluates.

Some pertinent manuscript collections were not consulted, and he does not take full advantage of the rich lode to be yielded by Populist newspapers.

The writer's disdain for "such artifacts of the past as manuscripts, newspapers, and the like," (p. 126) may not please those historians who utilize such sources, but he is neither an arrogant iconoclast nor a doctrinaire "wave of the future" advocate. Professor Gaither's own prose style is clear and unencumbered.

An introduction by Professor Sheldon Hackney, an authority on Populism and presently president of Tulane University, is both useful and intelligent. Professor Hackney contends that the white Populists, more than their white contemporaries — Democrats or Republicans — were concerned about the welfare, particularly the political welfare, of blacks. Professor Gaither does not go that far.

The monograph is yet another contribution to the literature of Populism. By concentrating on the role of blacks in the agrarian crusade, the author adds to our knowledge of that important aspect of the movement. He has an objective approach, but comes down harder on the Populists than this reviewer believes they deserve. Professor Gaither is far more in the interpretive camp of Charles Crowe and Robert Saunders than in that of C. Vann Woodward and Richard Goodwyn.

William Warren Rogers
Florida State University

June Middleton Albaugh and Rosa Lyon Traylor, *Collirene, The Queen Hill*. (Montgomery: Herff Jones — Paragon Press, 1977. Pp. iv, 304. \$16.00)

The subtitle for this enlightening book is, "A Chronicle of a Lowndes County Community and Seven of Its Pioneer Families. Caffey, Dudley, Dunklin, Lyon, Middleton, Pierce, and Rives."

Two quotations from the Foreword will give a clear pic-

ture of the nature of the book. The express purpose is to "present the Hill's story in an interesting, readable form;" and the "authors have attempted to walk a fine line between story and genealogy by introducing a minimum of interruptions while presenting a worthwhile collection of family lines." These purposes have been fully met in this well documented and entertaining publication. The book is a page-turner all the way. The reader who is not native to the section will experience an urge to find out what happens next to these people who lived at Collirene. There is a temptation to gobble up the book to find out how the story ends.

Rosa Lyon Traylor, who has spent her life in the area, has carefully gathered the information. June Middleton Albaugh, Mrs. Traylor's first cousin, never lived in Lowndes County but did spend many childhood vacations there. Her fascination with the mystique of Collirene led to her transformation of historical fact into a fascinating story. The collaboration of these two women has produced a remarkable book.

The Civil War letters in the book are well chosen and give a realistic and unbiased picture of the conflict. One sentence will serve to illustrate the well balanced view taken by the authors in their own analysis of that period. "In a way the whites had been freed, too." Such objectivity is not common in books written by amateur historians.

The illustrations by Harold Thomson make the book a true work of art. The maps are attractive and useful. The large print and the controlled use of footnotes will be appreciated by the casual reader. The more serious reader will find the documentation adequate.

Margaret Pace Farmer
Troy, Alabama

Mary E. Brantley, *Early Settlers Along the Old Federal Road in Monroe and Conecuh Counties Alabama*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1976. Pp. x, 346. \$15.00.)

Primary and secondary sources of local history exist in

every area of Alabama but these are too seldom brought together into one single volume. Mary E. Brantley has obviously spent many hours searching out the bits and pieces of information about the early settlers along the Old Federal Road in Monroe and Conecuh Counties. She has made a great contribution by organizing and publishing the results of her labors. Her sources include references from the standard works by Moore, Owen, Brannon, and Pickett. She has looked for relevant material in histories of other counties. The reviewer was impressed by the minutiae Miss Brantley found in the *Papers of the Pike County Historical Society*. It is obvious that Miss Brantley left no stone unturned.

Her book serves as a model for other local historians. She has compiled information from census returns, newspaper articles, historical society papers, school records, post office department records, church minutes, diaries, family group sheets, published family histories, published church histories. These records are well organized and sources are carefully documented.

Of particular interest are the old cemetery records, many of which Miss Brantley copied herself, in the field. The location of each cemetery is noted by township and range.

The book has many fine pictures of old houses and of groups of people. The persons in these pictures are identified by name.

Miss Brantley very wisely planned the format of her book using large print and wide margins to make the book easy to use. The index has names of thousands of people.

If one were to compile guide lines for the preparation of a source book of local history, Miss Brantley would pass the test with high marks. She knows her subject and knows her prospective readers, and she has served them well. One wishes that every section of our state might have its Mary Brantley.

Margaret Pace Farmer
Troy, Alabama

J. Mills Thornton, III, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). pp. 492. Appendix, bibliography, and index. \$22.50.

Of the many pleasures awaiting a reader of *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, none is likely to be more rewarding than exposure to Professor Thornton's deft interweaving of national and local themes into a coherent framework for understanding the coming of the Civil War from the perspective of antebellum Alabamians. Although this exceptional work can be read with profit either as a richly and imaginatively detailed history of Alabama politics from statehood in 1819 to secession in 1861, or as a socio-cultural analysis of the dynamics of Jacksonian ideology in a slave society, the subtlety of the author's approach avoids such a sharp and artificial distinction. To describe and explain the interplay of institutions and ideas, of parties and voters, and of local perceptions and national events is the task that Thornton has set out for himself; in my view he has succeeded admirably in his efforts "to place upon the reader the spectacles through which antebellum Alabamians peered out at their frightening world" (p. xvii).

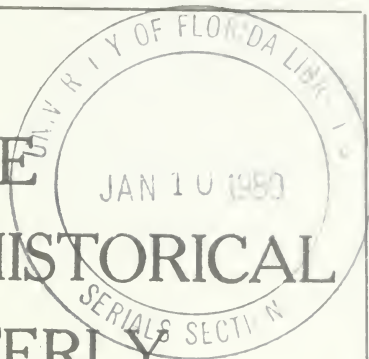
The antebellum world was indeed frightening for Alabamians and other white Americans. The dread of the destructive potentialities of organized power for individual autonomy, which Jacksonian Americans had inherited from the Revolutionary generation, was constantly exacerbated by the irreversible pace of economic change and social dislocation in the decades between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. As more and more Americans were drawn into a market economy by networks of improved communications, industrialization, and urbanization, traditional fears that impersonal, external forces — be they the invisible controls of the market place, institutions such as banks, or power centers such as the federal government or state legislature — threatened to undermine individual liberty gained ever greater plausibility. At the same time a mass-based political system arose in which successful politicians learned that the key to office was the ability to manipulate popular discontent by focusing it upon some symbolic enemy which personalized the electorate's fears.

This link between the political culture and the tensions induced by a rapidly changing economy could be transformed into a crusade for popular liberty with particular virulence in Alabama and other slave states. In his central insight Professor Thornton argues persuasively that the existence of slavery made Southerners the best of republicans, not the worst, the most sensitive practitioners of Jacksonian ideology, and not the most hypocritical. Faced daily with the reality of slavery, the essence of coerced dependence and the antithesis of autonomy, Alabamians were obsessed with locating and eliminating perceived threats to their own independence. By the 1850's the abolitionists and the Republicans of the North had come to symbolize the worst inner fears of Alabamians. As preached by the fire-eaters, secession "produced an extreme decision because the threat to freedom which it sought to repel seemed more substantial and more horrible than had the earlier ones" (p. 457). In the ironic climax of antebellum Alabama politics Jacksonian anti-power ideology was used to justify a revolution made possible by the renunciation of the Jacksonian belief that political redress for social grievances was morally legitimate only through the collective will of the majority. Alabama as a state, and the South as a section, had sought liberation from perceived Northern tyranny by acting as a minority for their own minority interests.

The intricacy and imagination with which Professor Thornton handles the above themes in the specific context of Alabama politics and society can hardly be hinted at in a brief review. I can but invite the reader to explore this magnificently researched and informative study for a truly fine beginning for coming to grips with the political culture of not just one antebellum Southern state, but also of that generation, Northern and Southern, which would collide in the Civil War.

William L. Barney
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THE FLAG OF THE REPUBLIC OF ALABAMA AN ODYSSEY

by

W. Stanley Hoole

At twenty-five minutes past two o'clock on Friday afternoon, January 14, 1861, hundreds of men and women — many of whom had waited for hours in the porticoes, rotunda, and corridors of the Alabama State Capitol . . . gave three loud, lusty cheers and crowded into the House Chamber and gallery, shouting as they went. On the rostrum, President William M. Brooks tried in vain to bring the Alabama Secession Convention to order. Outside, in the courtyard, a cannon roared, heralding the news that the State of Alabama had at last withdrawn from the Union and was now a free, sovereign, and independent republic.¹

Almost simultaneously with the shouting and the shooting, a large flag, approximately 16 x 20 feet so large as to stretch across the ample floor of the House, was brought in and unfurled. Dark blue in color and made of silk it bore on one side the Goddess of Liberty, holding in her right hand an unsheathed sword, and in her left a small flag with a single star and the word *Alabama*. Above was inscribed the motto, *Inde-*

This description of the events surrounding the passage of the Ordinance of Secession is based on the following sources: William R. Smith, *History and Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama* . . . (Atlanta, 1861), 117-122; *Montgomery Daily Mail*, *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, January 11, 1861; David L. Darden, "The Alabama Secession Convention." *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, III, (Fall-Winter, 1941), 269, 451, hereafter cited as AHQ: C. P. Denman, *The Secession Movement in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1933); *Journal of the Convention of the People of the State of Alabama*. . . , *Commencing on the 7th Day of January, 1861*. (Montgomery, 1861; Robert Jemison to his daughter, Montgomery, January 10, 1861, Robert Jemison Collection, (W. Stanley Hoole, Special Collection, University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa), Dr. William H. Mitchell to his wife, Montgomery, January 11, 1861, The Rev. William Henry Mitchell Papers, (State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery), quoted in *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 8, 1911; and Basil Manly's Diary, December 24, 1860-February 1861, Manley Family Papers, (W. Stanley Hoole Special Collection, University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa). See also Frank L. Owsley, Jr., John Craig Stewart, and Gordon T. Chappell, *Know Alabama: An Elementary History* (Montgomery, 1970), 235-236.

pendent Now and Forever. On the other side was a large cotton plant in full bloom, above which was the state seal, and below a rattlesnake and the words *Noli Me Tangere*. Men stood on chairs and tables to hold the flag horizontally, the better to display the beauty of its painted designs — and amid the deafening cheers and applause men and women hugged each other and wept unashamedly. The moment was the most historic, the most exciting in the state's forty-two-year-old history.²

At the height of the excitement William Lowndes Yancey, a delegate from Montgomery and unquestionably the leader of the Secessionists, stood to address the disorderly assembly. Quieting the crowd with outstretched arms, he accepted the flag on behalf of the convention, profusely thanking the ladies of Montgomery for their ennobling generosity in having made the flag and presented it to the State of Alabama. The cotton plant, he said, depicted the source of the state's wealth, the rattlesnake was coiled to "manifest our determination to defend our rights. . . . [It] is peaceful and harmless unless disturbed; but death to the individual who assaults it." Then, he added,

To say that this flag is presented by ladies who are beautiful would be but the least part of their praise, for beauty is the least desirable of woman's perfections. It is presented by the noble hearted, pure and patriotic women of Montgomery, on whose cheeks the tears of regret for sons and brothers who have already gone to fight their country's battles have not yet dried.³

Yancey was followed by William R. Smith, a Cooperationist from Tuscaloosa, popularly known as "Little Billy," who had voted against the passing of the Ordinance of Secession. After apostrophizing the Stars and Stripes, he continued.

Now, as we lower this glorious ensign of our once vaunted

²An announcement regarding the making of the flag by "the maids and matrons of Montgomery" had appeared in the *Montgomery Daily Mail*, November 10, 1860. A photograph of an artist's conception of the flag (not of the flag itself) may be seen in David L. Darden, "The Alabama Secession Flag," *AHQ*, III, (Fall-Winter, 1941), 364-367.

³Smith, 120, states that he was unable to secure a copy of Yancey's acceptance speech. This is taken from Dr. William H. Mitchell's letter to his wife (see note 1, above), and *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 8, 1911.

victories . . . , we accept this Flag. It is presented by the ladies of Alabama. I see upon it, a beautiful female face,

Oh! Woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and sorrow wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou!

Presented by the daughters of Alabama! The history of the world teaches, that in times of trouble and danger to her country, woman is always in the van. Her heroism is reserved for revolutions. She has been known to tear the jewels from her ears, the diamonds from her neck, and the rings from her fingers, and sell them to buy bread for the starving soldier. Nay, in order to aid a struggling army, we see her cutting the glorious locks that adorn her beauty, and consent for them to become the "dowry of a second head." What wonder, then, that now, in these stirring times, when "grim visaged war" wrinkles the brow of Peace — what wonder that the daughters of Alabama should thus endeavor to import to our veins the burning currents of their own enthusiasm! What wonder that they should strive, by these graceful devices of female ingenuity, to lift us up to the height of their own hallowed inspiration!

We accept this flag; and though it glows with but a single star, may that star increase in magnitude and brilliancy, until it out-rivals the historic glory of the Star-Spangled Banner!⁴

⁴Smith, 119-122. Smith also footnoted this sonnet of his own, apparently written after the convention, stating that "only the fervor of such enthusiasm as prevailed at this time could tolerate the extravagant hyperbole":

THE LOST PLEIAD FOUND

Long years ago, at night, a female star
Fled from amid the Spheres, and through the space
of ether, onward, in a flaming car,
Held, furious, headlong, her impetuous race:
She burst her way through skies; the azure haze
of Heaven assumed new colors in her blaze
Sparklets, emitted from her golden hair,
Diffused rich tones through the resounding air;
The neighboring stars stood mute, and wondered when
The erring Sister would return again:
Through Ages still they wondered in dismay;
But now, behold, careering on her way,
The long-lost PLEIAD! she takes her place
On ALABAMA'S FLAG, and lifts her RADIANT FACE!

Upon the motion of Edmund S. Dargan, a Secessionist from Mobile County, a resolution was unanimously passed to accept the new flag, stating "that it shall hereafter be raised upon the Capitol, as indicative whenever the Convention shall be in open session." Thomas H. Watts, of Montgomery, objected to the statement, declaring that he wanted the flag to float above the Capitol dome "forever," but Dargan's motion carried.⁵ President Brooks, of Perry County, appointed fellow Secessionist Alpheus Baker, a delegate from Barbour County, officially to thank the ladies for "their patriotic present," and amid the wildest enthusiasm, which had now spread from the Capitol down "Goat Hill" and throughout the streets of the city, the convention adjourned until the next morning and the multitude, still cheering, moved slowly out to mill about the lawns and gardens.

At six minutes before three o'clock the new flag was run up on a staff on the Capitol dome, under the direction of Dr. Samuel Rambo, a local dentist.⁶ As it swang out in the winter wind, Miss C. T. Raoul applied a match to the cannon in the courtyard, firing the first official shot.⁷ A second shot was touched off by Abram J. Walker, Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court. Then followed ninety-eight more rounds, all in joyous celebration of the state's withdrawal from the Union as a separate and independent republic.

By now the crowd, which had grown larger by the minute, was all but frenzied with excitement. The cannon was continually fired throughout the afternoon and into the night — and, suddenly, as if by magic, small replicas of the flag atop the Capitol appeared in countless windows and towers of the surrounding houses. "Every species of enthusiasm prevailed," William R. Smith recorded, men and women, forgetting their differences of opinions, political and otherwise, shouted and

⁵*Journal of the Convention of the People . . .*, 44.

⁶This was probably Dr. Samuel Rambo, a 42-year-old Montgomery dentist. See U.S. *Census* (ms.). Montgomery County, Ala., 1860, p. 167, and *Montgomery Directory for 1859-1860*, . . . comp. by Mears & Turnbull (Montgomery, 1859), 66.

⁷This was probably Miss Caroline Theus Raoul, daughter of Frederic and Mary Grace Cooper Raoul of Mount Meigs, M. P. Blue, *City Director and History of Montgomery . . .*, 1878 (Montgomery, 1878), 175.

sang, enraptured by the universal glow of fervent patriotism.⁸

Johnson Jones Hooper, nationally known author of *The Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs of the Tallapoosa Volunteers* and now editor of the *Montgomery Daily Mail*,⁹ described the historic occasion under the caption *Te Deum Laudaamus* in these fervent words:

By this time, all the bells in all the steeples of the city were ringing a merry peal, for Deliverance and for Liberty. Eager hundreds thronged the streets; friends met, wept, and embraced; [and] boys fired crackers . . . It was a great day . . .

As night closed in, the illuminations of Montgomery Hall, the Theatre, the **Advertiser** office, the **Mail** office, the Telegraph office, and many places of business . . . attracted universal attention. And by the light of bonfires, in the street . . . speeches were made to thousands by (Former) Governor J. W. Matthews of Mississippi, Colonel S. A. Jones, of Georgia, Hons. J. L. M. Curry, A. B. Meek, T. H. Watts and others of Alabama.

One of the noticeable [incidents] of the occasion was the running up, as the cannon fired, of the Lone Star, on the tower of the resident of Hon. T. H. Watts. At the same signal the locomotives of the West Point railroad — all previously "fired up" — made a glad discord with their steam whistles.

And so, all hail! to the glorious, free and independent Flag of the Sovereign Republic of Alabama! Forever may it wave in honor of a happy, chivalrous and united people. And to that sentiment, we know that all our people will say "amen."¹⁰

The *Montgomery Weekly Post*, which, as did other state

⁸Smith, 122; Joseph L. Hodgson, *The Cradle of the Confederacy: or The Times of Troup, Quitman, and Yancey* (Mobile, 1876, 525; John W. DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (Birmingham 1952), 561-562.

⁹W. Stanley Hoole, *Alias Simon Suggs: The Life and Times of Johnson Jones Hooper* (University, Ala., 1952). 148-160. Hooper was later elected secretary of the Confederate Congress.

¹⁰Hooper, a fiery Secessionist, "tired of waiting on the cautious movements of the Secession Convention," on January 10 hung out his own "flag of the Republic of Alabama" from the window of the *Mail* Office, 94 Commerce Street. The deep blue banner, 18 x 12 ft., carried a six-foot silver star with the letter A in red in its center. Hooper had borrowed the flag from Admiral Stone, commander of the Alabama River Fleet, who had recently brought the steamer *Le Grande* up from Mobile (*Montgomery Daily Mail*, January 11, 1861).

papers, printed the Ordinance of Secession in its entirety, stated on January 16 that,

The Lone Star Flag floated from the dome of the Capitol and was immediately greeted with the booming of the cannon, the ringing of the church and the fire bells, and the shouts of the people. The most intensive excitement prevailed, and the streets were thronged. . . .

We presume now that no citizen of Alabama can hesitate for a moment, as to what his duty is, and that every good and loyal citizens of the State, will be ready to perform their duty with alacrity. Whatever may have been our views as to matters of policy in the past, they enter not into the duties and responsibilities of the present . . . So far as the action of the Convention is concerned, we think it has acted prudently and wisely.

And the *Weekly Advertiser*, under a banner, "Alabama Out of the Union — A Glorious Day," continued:

After passage of the Ordinance of Secession and the adjournment of the Convention, the enthusiasm of the outside crowd found expression in an immediate meeting in front of the Capitol. A stand was erected upon the steps, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen . . . all of whom . . . expressed their determination, now that the act had been consummated, to stand by the sovereign decision of the Convention, as becomes the duty of every good low-abiding citizen.

The meeting then adjourned with the announcement that another assembly had been planned for the evening at Montgomery Hall. On this occasion an "even larger gathering of ladies and gentlemen" listened to other speakers and the utmost good feeling was everywhere prevalent." And then, as if in doubt, the editor added, "May union and harmony alike prevail in every portion of the State."¹¹

The convention reassembled for its sixth session on January 12. Thereafter, until March 21, it met regularly in both

¹¹Montgomery *Weekly Advertiser*, January 12, 1861. The speakers were Robert Jemison (Tuscaloosa), J. J. Seibels (Montgomery), H. C. Jones (Lauderdale), J. L. Sheffield (Marshall), W. S. Earnest (Jefferson), B. S. Bibb (Montgomery), J. L. M. Curry (Talladega), J. W. Matthews (Mississippi), S. A. Jones (Georgia), John E. Moore (Lauderdale), A. C. Beard (Marshall), and T. H. Watts (Montgomery).

open and secret sessions (except for a recess, February 9 - March 3), debating such "grave and momentous" matters as the establishment of military defenses for the state, the issuance of bonds, the sending of troops to Fort Barrancas and Fort Pickens at Pensacola, the confiscation of Forts Morgan and Gaines at Mobile and the United States Arsenal at Mt. Vernon, and the passing of numerous other ordinances. Standing committees on foreign relations, imports and exports, postal arrangements, relations with the United States Government, military affairs, and other subjects were appointed.¹² And as a break in the tiring routine, the convention was recessed for several hours to welcome the University of Alabama Corps of Cadets, "a fine body of young man," Colonel Caleb commanding, which performed "an admirable drill on the Capitol grounds," and stood in review for Alabama's Governor A. B. Moore.¹³

Meanwhile, the flag of the "Sovereign Republic of Alabama," as it was repeatedly called, continued to fly above the Capitol. For exactly one month, until February 10, it remained aloft, proclaiming the dissolution between the State of Alabama and the United States of America. The day before, on the ninth, according to the *Montgomery Daily Mail*, the flag was encircled and all but hidden by smoke arising from the cannon which was repeatedly fired to celebrate the election of Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens as president and vice president of the Confederate States of America.¹⁴

On the morning of the tenth the flag was taken down by four men: A. B. Clitherall, assistant secretary of the Secession Convention, Ferie Henshaw, W. J. Greene, and Johnson Hooper, the fiery editor of the *Mail*, "in order to make room

¹²*Ordinances and Constitution of the State of Alabama, with the Constitution of the Confederate States of America* (Montgomery, 1861), *passim*.

¹³*Journal of the Convention of the People* . . . , 121; Smith, 187, 189; *Montgomery Daily Mail*, January 26, 1861; *Manly Dairy*, January 25, 1861. The 125 cadets accompanied by President L. C. Garland and Major J. T. Murfree, were addressed by A. B. Meek, speaker of the House of Representatives. Afterwards, the visitors were guests at "a complimentary ball, given by the citizens of Montgomery."

¹⁴Davis arrived in Montgomery on February 16 and was inaugurated two days later (*Montgomery Daily Mail*, February 19, 1861.) A photograph of the inauguration may be seen in Francis T. Miller, *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), IX 291.

for the flag of the Confederate States of America, which will, ere long, and we trust forever, be flung to the breeze on the soil of Alabama, and in Montgomery, as the Capitol of the Confederacy." In a letter addressed to Governor Moore and published in the *Mail* the men explained their action:

The flag was left flying last night from the dome of the Capitol. We found it this morning, "though torn, still flying," and being satisfied, that in a few hours, the gale now blowing, would have entirely destroyed it, we have taken the responsibility of hauling it down, and now deliver it to you, that it may be placed in the archives of the State, in perpetual memory and honor of the Act of Secession in Alabama on the eleventh of January, 1861, and the ladies of Montgomery by whom it was presented to the State.¹⁵

Throughout the remaining days of the Secession Convention and during the first Confederate Congress which met thereafter, and, indeed, throughout fifty long months of bloody fratricidal war, the Alabama flag remained safely stored in the state archives.

However, at eight o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1865, a detachment of Major General James H. Wilson's United States Cavalry, composed of the 1st Michigan and the 8th Iowa Regiments, Brigadier E. N. McCook commanding, entered and occupied Montgomery without opposition, the city having been evacuated the night before.

The Stars and Stripes are floating over the Capitol of Alabama (Major E. B. Beaumont wrote Colonel R. H. G. Minty, April 12). General McCook entered the city this morning without firing a shot. There is no good place to camp off the Hayneville Road. Find the best camp you can. General Wilson does not want to have any enlisted men in the city.¹⁶

Despite General Wilson's wishes, the troopers apparently moved about the city at will. In any case, when they departed two days later for Tuskegee, Columbus, and West Point, one of the troopers (who has to this day remained unidentified)

¹⁵Montgomery *Daily Mail*, February 11, 1861; Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 8, 1911.

¹⁶*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington 1880-1902), SLIX (2) 331, 332. See also reports in XLIX (1).

serving in the 8th Iowa Regiment, Colonel Joseph H. Dorr commanding, confiscated the Alabama flag — the flag of the short-lived Republic of Alabama — and took it with him to his home in Iowa, 1,400 miles away.¹⁷

For thirty years following the war Alabama had no state flag. Then, on February 16, 1895, the legislature passed an act, officially adopting a flag bearing a crimson cross of St. Andrew upon a field of white. The flag, like those of Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, was chosen out of respect for the Confederate Battle Flag which it resembles.¹⁸

In the mid-1920's, sixty years after it had been stolen, a search for the first Alabama Flag was initiated by Miss Frances Hails, a member of the staff of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History. Five years later, in 1929, it was located in the Iowa Historical Society where it had been kept since 1892, at which time it had been obtained from the family of the anonymous and now deceased cavalryman who had taken it. Immediately, Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, director of the department, began negotiations for the return of the honored banner to its rightful home.

It was not an easy or simple task. Officials of the Iowa Historical Society stated that they did not have the authority to release the flag. They would never give it up, they said, unless ordered to do so by the Iowa legislature. The negotiations continued for ten years without success.¹⁹

Finally, in 1939, H. M. Stanfill, president of the Mobile Chamber of Commerce, whose help Mrs. Owen had sought, secured the advise of Senator Lister Hill. Hill, who had served in the Senate only one year, conferred with Senator Clyde Herring of Iowa, William Waymark, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, John D. Adams, secretary of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, William Riley, a leading Iowa lawyer, and with his brother, Luther L. Hill, who, fortunately, was at that time living in Des Moines. The plan worked: on February 27,

¹⁷*Ibid.*, XL (2), 402-403.

¹⁸*Alabama Acts (1894-1895)*, 719, Marie B. Owen, *The Story of Alabama . . .* (New York, 1949), 216-219.

¹⁹*Montgomery Advertiser*, March 10, 1939.

1939 the Iowa legislature passed an act, ordering the immediate return of the "Flag of the Republic of Alabama to the State of Alabama." The act specified that a delegation composed of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, and one member of the Grand Army of the Republic be designated to return the flag on behalf of the State of Iowa. For this purpose the sum of \$250 was appropriated.²⁰

The Iowa delegation, consisting of Senator B. C. Whitehill, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, Representative J. A. Lucas, a veteran of the famous Rainbow Division of World War I, and 94-year-old Judge Thomas Jefferson Noll, a veteran of the Civil War and commander-in-chief of the Iowa division of the Grand Army of the Republic, left Des Moines at once and arrived in Montgomery on March 7. They were met at the Union Station by Walter S. Lawrence, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, Richard Kelly, Alabama commander of the American Legion, Silas D. Cater, commander of the Montgomery Post, American Legion, L. C. Cardinal, a Spanish-American War veteran, Walter B. Smith, a former commander of the Montgomery American Legion Post, D. Trotter Jones, adjutant of the Alabama American Legion, and Colonel William P. Screws, veteran of both the Spanish-American War and World War I.²¹

The Iowans were royally received. They were housed at the Whitley Hotel and enthusiastically entertained. On their first day they were escorted about the city. That night they were honor guests at a reception at the home of Representative A. C. Davis on South Hull Street. The next day they were luncheon guests of the three chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Sophie Bibb, Cradle of the Confederacy, and Dixie) at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, and that night they were entertained by Governor and Mrs. Frank Dixon and Stephen F. Craddock, national commander of the American Legion from Seattle, Washington. Distinguished guests at these several functions included, besides those mentioned, Former Governor

²⁰Iowa *Acts* (1938-1939), 51-52. The act also specified that any other men who had served in the Rainbow Division, World War I, could accompany the official delegation, provided they paid their own expenses.

²¹Montgomery *Advertiser*, March 8-9, 1939.

and Mrs. Bibb Graves, Mayor and Mrs. William A. Gunter, Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Albert Carmichael, Judge and Mrs. Hugh Merrill, General Joseph R. Kennedy of Tuscaloosa, commander of the Alabama Chapter of Confederate Veterans, General Paul Sanguinetti of the United Confederate Veterans, (who was also ninety-four years old), and many others.

On March 8 the *Montgomery Advertiser* in a front page story with photographs of General Noll and Sanguinetti standing on the Confederate star on the Capitol porch, shaking hands, stated that at last the "tattered banner" which symbolized the freedom and independence of Alabama had come home in a "spirit of brotherly love and affection." In an interview Senator Whitehall stated that the Iowa legislature was convinced that "the return of the flag would bring back a lot of good friendship and fellowship between the North and the South." Representative Lucas added that the "banner was taken away in a spirit of hate and enmity, but it was now returned in a spirit of brotherly love and affection." And the dapper old General Noll, who was proudly dressed in his Yankee uniform, added that there had never been any loss of friendship so far as the North was concerned. "You fellows down here just turned your back on us for a while. Now, we're glad we're all united again in one great republic." Then with his eyes twinkling, the old veteran jokingly asked, "Say, have you fellows got a picture of Abe Lincoln anywhere around here?"

On Wednesday, May 8, before a joint session of the Alabama House and Senate, the Alabama flag severely worn and tattered was officially returned to the state in an unprecedented, solemn ceremony in the House chamber which was "festooned with Confederate and United States flags" — the same room in which it had been so proudly unfurled seventy-eight years previously. The gallery was over-flowing with spectators and many stood in the lobby, porticoes, and corridors, just as their

²²When returned, the fragmented flag was in very poor condition, too fragile to handle. It has since deteriorated further until only a small portion remains. However, two copies have been made, one for the Department of Archives and History to display and the other for the chamber of the House of Representatives. A photograph of one of these may be seen in Virginia K. Jones, ed., (Letters of Rev. W. H. Mitchell," AHQ, XXIII, (Spring, 1961), 185.

forefathers had done, "to hear though they could not see" the historic activities in progress.

Everyone stood when the two Confederate veterans, Generals Sanguinetti and Kennedy, walked to the Speaker's platform. Then followed the many dignitaries, including Mrs. Owen. The ceremony which followed the introductions was "memorable for its depth of cordiality and sentimental appeal," stated the *Advertiser*. "After long and diverse wanderings the flag of the 'Republic of Alabama' was again unfurled . . . come home to stay through the gracious gesture of the State of Iowa."

On behalf of the State of Alabama, Governor Dixon received the flag from Senator Whitehall, saying that it was "an earnest of the kindness and thoughtfulness of Iowa." Then he added,

I am moved by the same sentiment that moves every man and woman here . . . Most people in this hall had grandfathers who fought in the defeated army . . . Iowa realizes how near and dear these things are to us. We will remember always with a depth of sentiment the fine, gracious gesture of our Iowa friends.

Senator Whitehill, who had presented the flag replied:

How, when or where the (cavalryman of the 8th Iowa regiment) found this flag, we do not know, why he took it we can but conjecture. He was a soldier, and like all soldiers in any war, he took whatever he found, regardless of ownership . . .

And Senator Hill, who was not present, had sent a message which was read by Governor Dixon:

The gracious and gallant act of the Iowa legislature in returning the flag is an earnest proof that just as the men of Iowa and Alabama, as fellow soldiers in the Rainbow Division on the battlefields of France, mingled their blood and heroically fought the common enemy, so today Iowa and Alabama with common interests, common problems, and common purposes stand side by side in friendship and fraternity, striving for the happiness of their people and the welfare of our common country.

During the somewhat lengthy program Mrs. Owen, who,

according to the *Advertiser*, "perhaps gloried in the occasion more than any other person," sat with her "eyes fixed on Senator Whitehill . . . , Hanging on to his words . . . like Grant hung around Richmond."²³ And at the conclusions of the ceremonies she accepted the flag from Governor Dixon and took it to the Department of Archives and History where, its odyssey ended, it remains as one of Alabama's most treasured historical possessions.

Denouement

One question remains to be answered: was the flag which was officially accepted by the Secession Convention on January 11, 1861 — Alabama's first flag, the flag that served the state during the month that she was "free, sovereign, and independent," not affiliated in any manner with the United States but not yet one of the thirteen states of the Confederacy — was this flag the "Alabama Secession Flag" or "The Flag of the Republic of Alabama"?

That the flag was generally known and often described in the press as the flag of the republic cannot be denied. It was the republic's flag to the *Montgomery Advertiser* and the *Montgomery Mail*, the two papers which most closely covered the convention. It was also the republic's flag to the *Birmingham News* and *Tuscaloosa News*.²⁴ Thomas H. Watts, a delegate to the Secession Convention, in addressing the body on January 25, 1861, referred to Alabama as a republic. It was the republic's flag to the Iowa legislature which, in the act authoring its return, called it "the flag of the Republic of Alabama." And it was the "Flag of the Republic of Alabama" to Walter L. Fleming, whose *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* has been the definitive study of the period for nearly seventy-five years.²⁶

On the contrary, nowhere in the *Journal of the Convention of the People of the State of Alabama*. . . , January 7-21, 1861, or in the *Ordinances and Constitution of the State of Alabama*. . . , January 11-March 20, 1861, is Alabama described

²³ *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 8-9, 1939.

²⁴ *Birmingham News*, *Tuscaloosa News*, March 7-10, 1939.

²⁵ Smith, 220.

²⁶ (New York, 1905), 57.

otherwise than as a state.²⁷ Nor is the flag called that of a republic.

Therefore, we must conclude that, while Alabama was in the eyes of her people and for all practical intent and purpose a "free, independent, and sovereign Republic," she was never so identified in the official records. Thus, we answer our question with another question: which are we to accept as the final judgment, the *letter* of the law — or the *will* of the people?²⁸

²⁷On January 25 Henry C. Jones, a delegate from Lauderdale County, stated, ". . . it is conceded that Alabama does not design to remain as a separate State—that she will be a member of a Confederate Republic in a few weeks, is as certain as that the Sun will rise tomorrow." (Smith, 208).

²⁸I am grateful to Milo B. Howard, Jr., director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, and to Grady McWhiney, chairman, Department of History, The University of Alabama, for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE 1791 FLOODS IN ALABAMA

by

Jack D. L. Holmes*

When Alphonse Karr wrote in 1849, "The more things change, the more they remain the same," he brought home to this writer the woeful experience Alabama has had over the centuries at the hands of disastrous floods. So many people lost valuable property around Lake Logan-Martin in April of 1977 that the Federal Government declared portions of Alabama "disaster areas." Helping people in their time of need is a legitimate function of a progressive government, one which the United States has adopted over the past two centuries, but it may be interesting to note that before portions of Alabama became American, while they were still under the dominion of Spain (1780-1813), floods posed a problem for the Spanish government.

In 1791 the Mobile District was commanded by Vicente Folch y Juan, a remarkable career officer who had first come to America during the American Revolution. Between 1787 and 1792 Folch's vigorous administration of Mobile induced thousands of settlers from the United States to transfer their allegiance to Spain and to settle on free land grants along the lower reaches of the Tensaw and Tombigbee Rivers.¹

Folch's uncle in New Orleans was the equally-capable governor-general of Louisiana and West Florida, Colonel Este-

* Professor of History, University of Alabama in Birmingham. Research for this paper, which was read before the Alabama Academy of Science at Tuscaloosa, April 8, 1977, was made possible by a grant-in-aid from the UAB Faculty Research Committee, for which the author is extremely grateful.

¹On the role of Folch and his development of the Mobile District, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Three Early Memphis Commandants: Beauregard, DeVille DeGoutin, and Folch," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, XVIII (1964), 14-26; "Notes on the Spanish Fort San Esteban de Tombeche," *The Alabama Review*, XVIII, No. 4 (October, 1965), 281-290; and David H. White, "The Indian Policy of Juan Vicente Folch [sic], Governor of Spanish Mobile, 1787-1792," *The Alabama Review*, XXVIII, No. 4 (October, 1975), 260-275.

ban Miro.² It was Miro who met with the American General James Wilkinson in 1787 and discussed what has become known in American history as the "Spanish Conspiracy," but he was also responsible for the government policies which attracted so many settlers to the sparsely-populated valleys of the lower Mississippi and Tombigbee. Miro wrote to Captain-general Luis de las Casas, his superior office with headquarters in Havana in 1791, and he reported to the Secretary of War, the Conde del Campo de Alange, from Havana on July 29, 1791, as follows:

"In an April 30 letter sent to me by the governor of New Orleans, he included copies of dispatches sent to him by the commandants of Mobile and Feliciana and likewise his replies concerning an inundation suffered at those settlements with the loss of many animals, provisions and part of their homes, because of which catastrophe he has aided the victims with 200 barrels of whole corn subsidized by the Division of Settlement funds, and he concludes with the request that I report same to His Majesty for his royal approval. . . ."³

Feliciana was a new district located some 45 leagues above New Orleans on the left bank of the Mississippi, just south of the much older district of Natchez.⁴ Miro reported that, because the estuary on which Feliciana was situated tended to overflow across the farm lands of the interior, the floods had virtually destroyed the new settlement. In the Mobile district, where the Mobile River had also flooded, settlers of the Tensaw and Tombigbee districts were likewise in need of government aid,

²Miro, born in northeastern Spain (Cataluna), had been colonel of the Louisiana Infantry Regiment with yeoman service in the Spanish conquest of British West Florida (Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola) during the American Revolution. A biographical sketch is included with his 1792 description of Louisiana, published in Jack D. L. Holmes (ed.), *Documentos ineditos para la historia de la Luisiana, 1792-1810*, Vol. XV, *Coleccion Chimalistac* (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1963).

³Luis de las Casas to Conde del Campo de Alange, Havana, July 29, 1791, copy in Archivo General de Simancas (Spain), Guerra Moderna, legajo 6916.

⁴Named for Felicitas de St. Maxent, who was married to Spain's redoubtable military genius, Bernardo de Galvez, New Feliciana was located on the left bank of the Mississippi on an estuary (probably Thompson's Creek). Its flood damage is described in Miro to Luis de las Casas, No. 161, New Orleans, April 30, 1791, copy in *ibid.* and also in Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba (Sevilla), legajo 1440.

which Miro offered in the form of 200 barrels of corn (on the ear) for two widows and their children at Feliciana, and the numerous settlers along the Alabama rivers.

Anselmo Blanchard⁵ wrote Miro from Feliciana on April 20, 1791, and reported that the torrential rains of March 15 — “Beware the Ides of March” should be altered to “Beware the Tides of March,” perhaps — followed by two days of incessant rains had produced such an “avenue” of water that houses were flooded and the rude levees had been washed away, killing numerous animals of all kinds. Those settlers unable to save their provisions stumbled about trying by sheer muscle to stem the tide against levels which reached five and six feet in depth. All of this activity caused such chaos and confusion among the poor settlers who were hard-pressed to salvage any of their crops for the year. Among those who were particularly hard-hit were two poor widows and their numerous children who lost everything to the swirling waters. Without recourses or savings, they faced a bleak future, according to Blanchard, who pleaded with Governor-general Miro to provide some disaster assistance, inasmuch as the settlement was so new that it lacked the wherewithal to help itself. “Doing this,” he concluded, “will give you the warm feeling of having alleviated the suffering of those unfortunates, who will never cease their prayers to the Omnipotent One for the good fortune and prosperity of Your Excellency.”⁶

Miro replied on May 5, 1791, that the people of Feliciana had suffered as had the settlers along the Tensaw and Tombigbee from record-breaking floods, and that their misery caused him much grief. “You shall take whatever measures possible,” he added, “to provide alternative work for those farmers.” As for the two widows for whom Blanchard had requested aid,

⁵Blanchard, a native of Nova Scotia (Acadia), joined the Spanish military when General Alexander O'Reilly reorganized it in 1770. He fought with distinguished valor in the Baton Rouge and Mobile campaigns of 1779 and 1780, and was rewarded with the military post command of New Feliciana on its founding. See Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821*, Vol. I, *Louisiana Collection Series* (Birmingham, 1965), 168-169.

⁶Anselmo Blanchard to Esteban Miro, Feliciana, April 20, 1791, copy enclosed in Las Casas to Campo de Alange, July 29, 1791.

Miro advised that they be given necessary corn and rice to take care of their needs until the end of 1791. The number of children cared for by each widow was to be reported along with the expected needs per month.⁷ For this disaster relief, Miro took an exceptional responsibility of providing government food without proper authorization, but in the name of benevolence and following the traditional Spanish pattern of *noblesse oblige*, the administrator thought first of the suffering people and delayed the requisite paper work for another day.⁸

The situation in Alabama was even worse than that suffered along the Mississippi, however, and Commandant Folch at Mobile gave his uncle, Miro, a full report on the damage. Spain operated under the church-state agreement known as the *Patronato Real*, whereby the government was responsible for the creation of new parishes, the appointment of priests, and the financial support of the sole public church, the Roman Catholic. Folch had planned to leave Mobile for St. Stephens, which he had helped establish in 1789, in order to receive officially a new house built for the use of the parish priest at Tombigbee's parish, the Church of the Transfiguration. He left Mobile on March 18 and found on his arrival a general state of alarm among the settlers due to the rising level of the river — already six feet above its usual stage. Folch explained to Miro what had taken place following his arrival:⁹

“On the nights of the 18th and 19th [March] the river rose three and one half feet and was already beginning to flood the meadows and it was essential to move the cattle to a place of higher ground. At noon of the same day, recognizing that they could do nothing to save those which were missing, they proceeded in salvaging their furniture and those personal belongings each regarded as most valuable. During the night of the 19th-20th the river rose four feet, and at seven a.m. it began to carry away the Negro cabins, warehouses, barns and virtually all the buildings. Those largest buildings because of their

⁷Miro to Blanchard, New Orleans, May 5, 1791, copy in *ibid.*

⁸For a similar “extraordinary” example of *noblesse oblige*, see Jack D. L. Holmes, “The 1794 New Orleans Fire: A Case Study of Spanish *Noblesse Oblige*,” *Louisiana Studies*, XV, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), 21-44.

⁹Vicente Folch to Miro, No. 342, Mobile, April 11 [17?], 1791, copy enclosed in Las Casas to Campo de Alange, July 29, 1791.

size and height, which were not washed away on the 20th, suffered the same misfortune on the 21st, that being the day the settlement was completely ruined.

"From the 21st to the 26th the waters continued to rise from 27 to 32 inches, and from the 26th to the 31st (when they finally reached their highest stage), from 12 to 13 inches. By measurements which I made myself in company with some of the settlers, we found the water had risen 25 feet above the normal level.

"This flood, which is unprecedented even in the memory of the Indians, has surprised everyone. The short number of canoes and the rapid currents and rise in the water level, prevented them from salvaging all but a small number of provisions, despite all their efforts.

"Notwithstanding all these adversities I have the satisfaction of being able to inform you that there was not a single casualty, black or white, which I will leave to Your Excellency to note that the usual confusion which accompanies similar conflicts and always causes the high rate of casualties, did not exist here."

Folch was unable to report the precise losses since most of the families had taken to the high ground and relative safety and they were scattered across the hills and bluffs, but he promised a full report when the waters receded. Noting that 1791 had not been a particularly successful year for crops in the Mobile District, Folch commented that a large number of immigrants from the United States was expected and that the storekeepers were hoarding supplies and provisions in the hope of selling them to the newcomers at high prices, a speculation which Folch felt added to the miserable situation.¹⁰ Some

¹⁰Folch's opposition to profiteering at the expense of suffering people was long-standing. In an 1805 regulation for Pensacola, where he later exercised command, Folch warned against merchants raising their prices during a time of scarcity. "We are convinced," he cried, "that this is the Idol of the Userer, who closes his eyes and ears to the needs and cries of his fellow-man and concentrates solely on satisfying the thirst that consumes him, abandoned and neglectful of the friendship that men who live in the same society owe toward each other." Jack D. L. Holmes, "Pensacola: Spanish Dominion, 1781-1821," in *Colonial Pensacola*, ed. by James R. McGovern (Pensacola, 1974), 119-120.

three hundred black and white settlers of both sexes had arrived in the area during the first two weeks of March, all hoping to settle in the fertile, well-watered valley of the Tombigbee. The roads were choked with families coming to Alabama in search of better economic opportunity, and their arrival on the heels of the flood aggravated an already difficult situation. Blocked on the one hand by ravines and bluffs, and on the other by the impassable, flooded Alabama River, they were unable to appear in person in Mobile to sign their oath of loyalty to the Spanish crown and to file for their free land grants.

Commenting on the "true state of this district," Folch wrote that in the entire Tombigbee District only Fort San Estehan (Ft. St. Stephens), the parish house, and four or five homes belonging to settlers which had been built atop the hills, were still standing. Because the barns and storehouses of these settlers were built on lower ground, they faced a dismal future with the loss of all their livestock and feed.

"The rest of the families," he wrote, "are without shelter, hardly with enough to eat, and their fields which were expected to provide their sustenance, still under the muddy waters."

Folch was a staunch enemy of speculation and the use of disaster as an excuse for merchants to raise their prices and earn unfair profits. "The price of a barrel of corn-on-the-cob before the flood was 65¢ f.o.b. St. Stephens, and on the 26th [of March] they were asking \$5.00 a barrel" Accordingly, Folch ordered hand-bills posted in the usual public places, warning that the maximum price of whole corn was \$1.25 a barrel while corn off the cob was set at \$24.00. Folch arrived at the sums by calculating the median price between a year of plenty and one of scarcity. The government also interfered in a private mercantile transaction when he cancelled a shipment of 400 barrels of corn-on-the-cob being shipped in a schooner to Pensacola from Mobile. Obviously the corn was more needed in the Mobile District for the alleviation of the suffering caused by the floods.

Two friendly Indians came to Mobile and reported on what they had seen in the countryside. All the Indian villages scat-

tered along the upper Alabama River experienced similar floods and suffering was widespread. Folch suspected the same fate had visited the various Chickasaw villages along the Tombigbee River since they were further south of the reported Choctaw towns.

Folch recommended that the Royal Treasury increase its reserves of corn so as to give supplementary rations to the Indians, in keeping with the promises made at the Treaty of Mobile in 1784 to provide such provisions.¹¹ "It would be far cheaper to provide them with corn," he added, "than to give them bread and rice, which are more expensive."

Miro and Folch both followed a benevolent *noblesse oblige* policy toward the vassals under their command. When official regulations required prior approval for corn distributed to the suffering victims and this would take considerable time, those administrators who were most effective turned out to be most humane. Both Miro and Folch took upon themselves the responsibility of providing immediate succor for the flood victims and hoped that a benevolent crown would reimburse them for their expenses. If not, they had decided to bear the expense from their own pockets — hardly a gesture that weak, tyrannical, or stupid Spanish officials would do. Folch was ordered to supply the settlers of the Mobile District with corn for the personal use of the families stricken by the floods and also as a loan for use as seed. Likewise, Miro approved the price-fixing of Folch, adding that "it is unworthy that anyone should seek advantage from the public calamity." The Indians should also be provided with emergency provisions, Folch and Miro agreed. Miro sent a royal schooner with 80 barrels of flour and asked Folch to sent it back to New Orleans immediately so that it might return loaded with the needed corn.

The captain-general of Cuba, to whom Miro reported these happenings, sent his dispatch to his superiors in Spain with his positive recommendations. As time passed, the necessary regu-

¹¹On Spanish relations with the Choctaws in the Mobile District, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "The Choctaws in 1795," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1968), 5, 33-49; and "Spanish Treaties with West Florida Indians, 1784-1802," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII, No. 2 (October, 1969), 140-154.

lations were issued to Havana that the emergency expenses employed by Miro and Folch in alleviating the distress and suffering of the Spanish settlers in the Mobile District, all be approved. Once again, as in the hurricanes of 1779 and 1780; as in the disastrous fire of 1788 in New Orleans; and as would be followed in 1794 when another fire virtually destroyed the Louisiana capital — Spanish policy aimed at relief, recovery, and rehabilitation. The chain of command *was* eventually followed, but individual initiative which characterized the activities of Folch and Miro in Alabama during the 1791 floods demonstrated that the Spanish colonial system was not as ailing as some careless historians have claimed.

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF RYLAND RANDOLPH APRIL-MAY, 1868

by

Mike Daniel

One of the most flamboyant figures during the Reconstruction period in Alabama was Ryland Randolph, the fiery editor of the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor*. After fighting for Southern independence during the War Between the States, Randolph began a new fight for white supremacy in October, 1867, when he purchased the Tuscaloosa newspaper. Randolph's venomous diatribes against Carpetbaggers, Scalawags, and blacks, and his association with the Ku Klux Klan made his name anathema to the Radical Alabama government. His vehement opposition to the Reconstruction of the South led to his arrest and trial by the military in 1868. Although Randolph may have been guilty of assault, his illegal trial by the military provides one of the best examples of military oppression in Reconstruction Alabama. The Radicals in Alabama did not always follow their policy of "equal protection of the laws."

In October, 1867, when Randolph arrived in Tuscaloosa, the county was in disarray. Racial tension was ubiquitous and often explosive. Moreover, the white population of the county was divided against itself. Unionists in the northern part of the county cooperated with the Republicans; most whites in the rest of the county vehemently opposed the new party. When Randolph began publishing the *Independent Monitor*, he hoped to organize opponents of Radical Reconstruction into a powerful and cohesive force.¹

¹Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 22, 1911; John Witherspoon DuBose, *Alabama's Tragic Decade*, edit. James K. Greer (Birmingham: Webb Book Company, 1940), 242; Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971; Harper Torchbooks, 1972), 84.

The general histories of Alabama, such as Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, War Records and Public Men* (1872), Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama* (1934) and Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (1921), are extremely brief in their mention of Randolph. The two standard works on Alabama Reconstruction, John W. DuBose, *Alabama's*

He accomplished what he set out to do but only by becoming a martyr of sorts in a celebrated military trial. The incident that led to his trial was the stabbing of a black named Balus Eddins on March 28, 1868. That Saturday morning, as was customary in downtown Tuscaloosa, an auction was being held in front of Rhea and Martin's store. One member of the crowd, a drunken white man named John Hollingsworth, picked a fight with Eddins.² Randolph, sitting in his office across the street, heard the noise and because of recent threats by blacks who were angry about Ku Klux depredations, suspected that a "collision between the races" was in progress. Grabbing a long-bladed knife and a derringer pistol, he hurried into the street, where he saw a turbulent crowd of about two hundred blacks and twenty whites. At the center of the commotion "two burly negroes had a small white man down on the sidewalk, one beating him unmercifully with a big stick."³

Realizing that he could not shoot the blacks without injuring bystanders, Randolph fired into the air, hoping to frighten the attackers. The shot caused the blacks to cease their assault upon Hollingsworth and one of them, Eddins, attacked Randolph with a stick. Randolph "caught the blow glancingly" upon his left arm, and the same instant plunged his "knife repeatedly into his body, finally breaking off about an inch of the blade's point in his back as he turned to run."

Tragic Decade (1940) and Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1905) provide much valuable information concerning Randolph as does Allen W. Trelease in his *White Terror* (1971). Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins has written two informative articles about Randolph, "The Life of Ryland Randolph As Seen Through His Letters to John W. DuBose" (*Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 145-80) and "The Political Cartoons of the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* and Tuscaloosa *Blade*" (*Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, 140-65). Two unpublished master's theses, Gladys Ward, "Life of Ryland Randolph" (University of Alabama, 1932) and Nancy Anne Sindon, "The Career of Ryland Randolph: A Study in Reconstruction Journalism" (Florida State University, 1965), provide the most detailed studies of Randolph.

²Montgomery *Daily Mail*, as quoted in the *Tuscaloosa Independent Monitor*, May 5, 1868.

The only known mention of Hollingsworth's first name is located in the official testimony where a defense witness, James Rhea, calls him "Jno. Hollingsworth."

³Ryland Randolph Memoirs (Samford University, Special Collections, Birmingham, Alabama), 86-88.

Eddins fell and Randolph assumed that he was dead. Hollingsworth immediately began to beat Eddins on the head with a large stone. After Randolph stopped Hollingsworth's attack, he "cooly and very deliberately" wiped his bloody knife on the sole of his shoe "in the presence of the large body of dumb-founded negroes who stood nearby."⁴

The actions of the white onlookers particularly disturbed Randolph. While the blacks urged on their comrades, the whites had merely stood and watched. Even when Randolph intervened in the fight, "not one of those palefaces moved in his tracks except to get away."⁵

Randolph interpreted this passivity as cowardice on the part of Tuscaloosa whites; therefore, he believed it essential that he stand fast when told that a black mob was forming outside his office. He felt that his recent actions would be in vain if he fled to Foster's Settlement as his friends urged him.⁶ Instead he armed himself with guns and a bowie knife and confronted the two hundred angry blacks. He pointed his gun toward the mob and then moved toward them. The blacks began to run, "and in not less than five minutes not a negro was to be seen on the streets."⁷

Randolph saw this affair not only as an effort to save the life of a white man but also as "a caution to those many insolent

⁴*Ibid.*

Most Democratic newspapers in Alabama reported this affair in approximately the same vein as Randolph was later to write in his Memoirs. The Democratic newspapers that covered the controversy extensively were the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, *Montgomery Daily Mail*, *Mobile Daily Register*, *Selma Times and Messenger*, and *Tuskaloosa Independent Monitor*. However, the Republican newspapers printed an entirely different interpretation. The Republican *Montgomery Daily State Sentinel* on April 11, 1868, (as quoted in Sindon) described the affair in these terms: "We have been informed that a crazy man by the name of Randolph . . . has been arrested upon the charge of committing some outrage. . . . It is to be hoped no punishment will be inflicted upon him, but that he be taken care of by the Superintendent of the Insane Asylum. It is not safe to any community to permit an insane man go at large. Cage the unfortunate creature."

⁵*Ibid.*, 11.

⁶*Ibid.*, 88-89.

⁷Wiggins, "The Life of Ryland Randolph As Seen Through His Letters to John W. DuBose," *AHQ*, XXX, 166.

Negroes, who essay to fight the ruling race of the land.”⁸ According to Randolph the stabbing of Eddins also caused many white men to get “off from the fence” and take the side of the whites.⁹

On March 31 a Tuscaloosa Justice of the Peace ordered Randolph’s arrest, and on April 1 Randolph appeared before the magistrate. The judge only examined one witness, Eddins’ doctor, and then placed Randolph under bond to appear before Circuit Judge William S. Mudd.¹⁰ Some twenty Tuscaloosa citizens paid the bond, which was set at \$1,500.¹¹ Since Balus Eddins had not died, Randolph was charged with assault and battery.

Judge Mudd, known as a loyal man, had been unbiased in dealing with both Radicals and Conservatives. Even though it appeared that Randolph would receive an impartial trial, the Tuscaloosa Radicals feared Randolph’s acquittal and applied to the military authorities in Montgomery for his arrest. Since Randolph knew of these actions, he could easily have escaped. However, he did not want to evade an investigation and decide to surrender to the authorities in Montgomery.¹²

The exact date of Randolph’s departure for Montgomery is unknown. However, in the April 7 edition of the *Monitor*, Henderson Somerville and A. B. McEachin, two attorneys in temporary charge of the paper, reported that they knew nothing of Randolph’s whereabouts. But they added that it was rumored that the editor had gone to Montgomery “to investigate the libellous misrepresentations” made against him.¹³

⁸*Monitor*, April 1, 1868.

Randolph felt that this warning was a success. In the April 7 edition of the *Monitor* he said that the stabbing had a great effect on all of “niggerdom” in Tuscaloosa and that “They now feel their inferiority, in every particular to the white man.”

⁹*Ibid.*, April 7, 1868.

¹⁰*Montgomery Daily Mail*, April 22, 1868; Edwin Beecher to O. L. Shepherd, April 10, 1868, District of Alabama, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives.

¹¹Simon, “The Career of Ryland Randolph,” 44.

¹²*Montgomery Daily Mail*, April 22, 1868.

¹³*Monitor*, April 7, 1868.

After the military ordered Randolph's arrest, federal troops surrounded the house of Mrs. M. J. Eddins of Tuscaloosa on April 13 and searched for Randolph. Two days later a squad of twenty United States Cavalrymen, coming from the direction of Greensboro, arrived in Tuscaloosa and searched other homes, but Randolph was not found. The *Monitor* declared that "the soldiers are said to have performed their disagreeable duty with as little offensiveness as was compatible with the unlawful outrage. They were under orders, and were compelled to obey. The responsibility of the affair rests with those in higher places, who have ordered the perpetration of the insolent deed."¹⁴

Randolph travelled to Montgomery via Greensboro and Selma. Somewhere between Tuscaloosa and Greensboro, Randolph passed the soldiers sent to arrest him. Upon his arrival in Selma on April 15, Randolph visited Robert McKee, the conservative editor of the *Selma Times and Messenger* who offered to assist Randolph.¹⁵ While in Selma Randolph also visited an old friend, James H. Clanton.¹⁶ He volunteered to be part of Randolph's counsel and introduced the editor to a Yankee officer, Captain Alfred Hedburg. Clanton requested that Hedburg accompany Randolph to Montgomery and the officer agreed. Randolph and Hedburg travelled to Montgomery by steamboat where they slept in the same room and often drank to each other's health. Randolph regretted parting with Hedburg upon their arrival in Montgomery.¹⁷

Randolph arrived in Montgomery at approximately 9:00 P.M. on April 18 and reported immediately to the headquarters of General O. L. Shepherd, the commanding army officer of Alabama. Randolph found Shepherd socially agreeable, but when he saw copies of the *Republican State Sentinel* on Shep-

¹⁴*Ibid.*, April 21, 1868.

The homes of William A. Battle, James H. Fitts, Dr. S. J. Leach, Joseph Pegues, and John M. Martin were searched by the soldiers on April 15.

¹⁵Ryland Randolph to Robert McKee, April 23, 1868, Robert McKee Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Later Randolph was to ask McKee to try to influence any of the soldiers on the Military Commission that McKee might be acquainted with.

¹⁶Sindon, "The Career of Ryland Randolph," 7. Clanton and Randolph had first become acquainted while students at the University of Alabama and Randolph later served in Clanton's cavalry during the Civil War.

¹⁷Ryland Randolph Memoirs, 26-27.

herd's desk, he immediately knew the General's political leanings. Because of the late hour, Shepherd asked Randolph to report again the next day. Randolph enjoyed a restful night at Pizzala's European House, under the impression that Shepherd's cordial reception would be indicative of his future treatment.¹⁸

When Randolph returned to Shepherd's office at 10:00 A.M. the next morning, the presence of a guard shook his confidence. Randolph told the general that he surrendered because he heard that Shepherd sent a "drunken official" to Tuscaloosa to arrest him. Colonel Edwin Beecher, an official of the Freedman's Bureau, went to Tuscaloosa ahead of the soldiers to gather information concerning the stabbing. Since Beecher, present during part of the meeting, received most of his information from Tuscaloosa Radicals, Randolph informed Shepherd that only one side of the story had been told and then denied that he had ever opposed the military authorities. But Randolph did say that he "intended by God's grace, to 'pitch into' scallawags, niggers, and carpetbaggers to the end of recorded time." Some comic relief was provided by the fact that Randolph himself carried a carpetbag that he had purchased in Selma "for convenience sake." Randolph felt that the carpetbag "would be a good introduction to the military."¹⁹

Shepherd arrested Randolph for the assault and turned him over to the commandant of the Montgomery military post. Shepherd denied Randolph bail, although Randolph was willing to furnish a bond of a half-million dollars. Randolph was marched through the public streets of Montgomery to his place of confinement, the carpenter shop of the military camp. While in the prison Randolph was continuously under the surveillance of a sentinel. His first day in prison was uncomfortable, but his friends soon brought food, furniture, and flowers. The authorities allowed him to see a few friends each day, including General Clanton. Randolph was reputed to have many sympathizers among the soldiers because many of them had either

¹⁸*Monitor*, April 28, 1868. This edition includes a lengthy letter written by Randolph while he was in prison in Montgomery.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

whipped or killed a black at some time.²⁰

General Shepherd kept Randolph in the Montgomery prison for one week and then unexpectedly transferred him to Selma on April 25. Because Randolph saw none of his friends before his departure, they did not know immediately of his removal. The military gave no reason for the transfer, but Randolph felt that Shepherd moved him because his friends had made him so comfortable in Montgomery.²¹

Randolph was confined in the filthy Selma "calaboose" along with eleven other men who had been tried by a military court. These men did not know their sentence and informed Randolph that months often pass before the sentences were revealed. The conditions of the Selma prison especially appalled Randolph: his quarters in Montgomery had been better than expected, but the Selma jail was disgraceful. He feared that he and his companions would soon become infested with "grey-backs."²²

When Randolph arrived in Selma he did not know when his trial was scheduled. He feared that the authorities would keep him in limbo as long as possible to prevent him from returning to his newspaper. Randolph believed that his arrest disguised an attempt by the military to muzzle free press and to crush free speech,²³ but he was not easily quieted. In a letter to the temporary editors of the *Monitor*, he exhorted them to "abate not one scintilla of fiery vigor in the *Monitor*, whether General Shepherd likes it or not. We are not catering for his pleasure, or for that of any other man who essays to trample upon personal liberty and political rights."²⁴

While Randolph was imprisoned, his Tuscaloosa friends were not inactive. A meeting of support for Randolph, composed of most of Tuscaloosa's influential citizens, was held on

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*, May 5, 1868.

This edition of the *Monitor* contains a letter written by Randolph while he was imprisoned in Selma.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*, April 28, 1868.

²⁴*Ibid.*, May 5, 1868.

April 29 at the Tuscaloosa courthouse. The meeting adopted several resolutions, the most important of which stated "that we regard this procedure on the part of General Shepherd as an unnecessary interference with the civil courts of the States, without decent pretext or color of excuse, as a flagrant act of injustice, uncalled for by any particular circumstances of the alleged offense, as unconstitutional and partisan in its aims and purposes." They also asked President Andrew Johnson to remove General Shepherd and vowed themselves ready to help Randolph "in any lawful and expedient measures that may be adopted . . . to release him from his unlawful captivity." They formed a committee of five to help secure the aims of these resolutions.²⁵

Randolph's legal counsel also remained active. On April 22 Randolph's lawyers filed a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* before Judge Richard Busteed, the United States District Judge for Alabama. Since Judge Busteed was not then in Mobile, no order was issued on this date.²⁶ However, after hearing that Randolph was transferred to Selma and was soon to be tried, Judge Busteed granted the writ. Busteed planned to hold court in Montgomery during the first week of May and since there was no time to take Randolph to Mobile, Busteed made the writ returnable to Montgomery on May 5.²⁷

Meanwhile, Randolph did not know if his trial, scheduled to begin on May 1, would take place. The military authorities decided to disregard the writ of *habeas corpus*, but no one knew if Judge Busteed would try to enforce the order.²⁸ On April 30 Clanton sent a telegram to General George Meade, the commander of the Third Military District, in Atlanta asking that the trial be postponed because of Busteed's writ. On May 1 Clanton received a reply from Meade saying that the request was denied.²⁹

Meade's denial appeared incompatible with his earlier pronouncements. He previously ordered that "the military power

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Mobile Daily Register*, April 23, 1868.

²⁷*Ibid.*, April 29, 1868.

²⁸*Mobile Tribune* as quoted in the *Montgomery Daily Mail*, May 2, 1868.

²⁹*Montgomery Daily Mail*, May 2, 1868.

is only to be exercised in case of the 'refusal or unwillingness' of the civil power to act." This was clearly not the problem with Randolph's case, so Meade should have obeyed the writ. One newspaper asked a very pertinent question: "Were those orders issued only for form's sake? or is Gen. Meade so forbearing as to permit subordinates to violate his orders with impunity?"³⁰

Apparently, a collision between the civil and military authorities was imminent. General Meade's orders and a decision of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase that the "military authority does not extend in any respect to the courts of the United States" gave Judge Busteed's court jurisdiction in Randolph's case. But if the military refused to submit to Busteed's decision, then the judge had little power to enforce his orders.³¹

When Randolph first arrived in Selma on April 25, the military authorities wanted to try him on that day, but since Randolph lacked counsel and witnesses, they abandoned the idea.³² The tentative date for the trial was set for May 1, but the absence of witnesses postponed the case until May 2 and then again until Monday, May 4.³³

The Military Commission in Selma was composed of four members of the United States Army: Brevet Major James Curtis, the president of the Commission, Brevet Major Horace

³⁰Livingston *Journal*, May 9, 1868. General Orders No. 65, issued by Meade on April 20, 1868, were even more specific: "Whenever charges are preferred against citizens for trial before a military commission, they will be accompanied with a statement of the reasons why the case can not be fairly disposed of by the civil authorities, and also with a full report of the evidence upon which the charges are based—the sworn statements of the witnesses being taken by the officer investigating the case, who will also give the accused party an opportunity to forward with the same report, whatever statements he may desire to present in his defense." Livingston *Journal*, May 5, 1868.

³¹Montgomery *Daily Mail*, May 2, 1868.

³²Mobile *News*, April 29 as quoted in the *Monitor*, May 5, 1868.

³³*Monitor*, May 12, 1868.

Robert McKee, editor of the *Selma Times and Messenger*, attended the trial and took copious notes of the proceedings. He published his notes on the trial in several editions of his paper, and the *Monitor* printed his record of the trial in the May 12 edition. The official transcript of the trial is found in RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office, #3171-00: Proceedings of a Military Commission Trial of Ryland Randolph, National Archives. The official testimony and the record kept by McKee differ only in minute details.

Jewett, and Second Lieutenant W. J. Sartle, all from the Fifteenth Infantry. The Judge Advocate, or prosecutor, was Captain S. R. Honey of the Thirty-Third Infantry.³⁴ Major Curtis, highly esteemed and very popular, and the "mild and placid" Major Jewett were considered to lean toward the side of mercy, while Lieutenant Sartle was considered to be somewhat zealous. Captain Honey, whose name was said to be "a sad misnomer, as his bitter prosecution will attest" was considered a "very well-read, well-qualified lawyer."³⁵

Although men worked in Randolph's behalf throughout the state, his Selma counsel consisted of only three men: Captain W. H. F. Randall, one-time member of the United States Army, Mr. Henderson Somerville of Tuscaloosa, and Major J. G. Pierce of Eutaw. Captain Randall was described in glowing terms as having "a pleasing face and gentlemanly manner, dignified by the expression of thought and reflection." Major Pierce was a brilliant defense counselor who put forth many "logically-argued points." By far the most important member of Randolph's counsel was the Tuscaloosa attorney, Henderson Somerville. He spoke with "the clearest-distinctness of tone, appropriateness of cadence, and power of emphasis, enforced by a fervid, expressive dauntless, but respectful earnestness of manner." Randolph clearly had the power of oratory on his side.³⁶

On May 4 Randolph's trial began. After the swearing in of the members of the court, the charges against Randolph were read. The charges stated "that Ryland Randolph, a citizen of Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa Co., Ala., unlawfully and with malice aforethought did assault one Balus Eddins, a freedman of color, with intent feloniously and with malice aforethought to murder him the said Balus Eddins." Captain Randall questioned the jurisdiction of the court, basing his pleas on General Meade's orders prohibiting military interference where civil authorities had acted and simply on the Constitution of the United States

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*, September 1, 1868.

An article concerning the trial in this issue of the *Monitor* was written by an unknown "Selma Correspondent of a Cincinnati Journal."

³⁶*Ibid.*

but the Court ignored both pleas.³⁷ Randolph's counsel also argued that since Judge Busteed issued the writ of *habeas corpus*, the military authorities had no right to try Randolph. They stated ". . . in time of peace, when there is no armed resistance to the authorities of the government; when the writ of *habeas corpus* is not suspended but the courts of the state are daily exercising the privilege of this writ, and when the statute laws of the state are in full force and effect [it is impossible to believe] that a military commission can in any event have jurisdiction in the trial of a citizen of a state, or even a citizen of the United States." But the Judge Advocate said that the Military Commission had jurisdiction over the prisoner by virtue of "the Act of Congress passed on March 2nd 1867 . . . commonly termed the reconstruction act." The record ruled in favor of the prosecution and the questioning of witnesses began.³⁸

The first witness called by the Judge Advocate was Balus Eddins. Robert McKee described Eddie as "a hard-favored individual, of . . . less than the average intelligence of his race in this State, and if there is anything in appearance and the expression of the countenance of a revengeful disposition, and a troublesome temper." He was evidently a field hand about forty-five or fifty years old. Upon the Judge Advocate's examination, Eddins said that he knew Randolph but that he never had any trouble with him before the stabbing. He told about his fight with Hollingsworth and then stated that Randolph fired at him (Eddins) but missed. Eddins said that Randolph stabbed him before he struck Randolph with the stick. Finally, Eddins told the court that he had been unable to work for months because of his wounds.³⁹

The defense attempted to discredit Eddins' testimony that Randolph initiated the attack but failed to do so. They exhibited the stick with which Eddins had struck Randolph, but the witness' testimony remained steadfast.⁴⁰ Much later Randolph said that Eddins "perjured himself most profoundly from the

³⁷*Ibid.*, May 12, 1868.

³⁸RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office, #3171-00: Proceedings of a Military Commission Trial of Ryland Randolph, National Archives.

³⁹*Monitor*, May 12, 1868.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

witness stand.⁴¹ The *Monitor* was more caustic, saying that although "Negroes generally excel as comedians, . . . Balus Eddins . . . exhibited incomparable excellence as a tragedian. He appeared before the Military Court . . . with his head tied up in rags, leaning like a decrepid octogenarian upon his staff and uttering groans of the most agonizing character." Since not two days later Eddins walked about twenty-five miles from Greensboro to Tuscaloosa, these charges seemed well-founded. After Eddins concluded his testimony at about 3:00 p.m., the court adjourned.⁴²

The second day of the trial, May 5, began with the calling of the second prosecution witness, W. T. Hamner, Jr., the son of a Tuscaloosa County Scalawag. Hamner, present when the alleged assault occurred, recounted the details of the fight between Eddins and Hollingsworth. He did not know if Randolph fired his pistol directly at Eddins, and he was not sure if Randolph stabbed Eddins. In answer to questions from the defense, Hamner said that he did not see Randolph when Eddins fell. The Court examined the witness, and Hamner said that Randolph fired toward the wall of Rhea's Store. He said that Eddins was between Randolph and the wall but he was not sure if Randolph fired directly at Eddins. The Judge Advocate then read several excerpts from the *Monitor*, where Hamner was called "a young whelp of the old dog" and was threatened with a visit from the Ku Klux Klan. The prosecution hoped to show Randolph's violent nature, and on this note the case for the prosecution closed.⁴³

The testimony of the defense witnesses, which took up the remainder of the second day and most of the third, then began. The four defense witnesses, all citizens of Tuscaloosa County, were Thomas H. Curtis, William Farrish, James Rhea, Jr. and John E. Chambers.⁴⁴ These men, described as having

⁴¹Ryland Randolph Memoirs, 91.

⁴²*Monitor*, May 19, 1868. Eddins recovered from his wounds but always had a decided limp. In later years he was often to be seen working in Randolph's garden.

⁴³*Ibid.*, May 12, 1868. There were two extracts from the *Monitor* read in the court: one from April 1, 1868, and the second from April 7, 1868. In the latter article Randolph called Hamner's father, who was the tax collector of Tuscaloosa County, "the meanest, mangiest hound in Christendom."

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

Little information is available to identify these witnesses: Curtis was fifty-two

little money, were summoned as witnesses but the government made no allowance for their expenses.⁴⁵ One prospective defense witness failed to make the trip to Selma. He was indebted to some of the Tuscaloosa Radicals who used their influence to prevent him from testifying.⁴⁶

Each defense witness told the same version of the fight. The men had been present when the alleged assault occurred, and they stated that Eddins was at fault, not only in the fight with Hollingsworth but also in the fight with Randolph. The men agreed that Randolph did not fire at Eddins and that the shot hit a wall about twelve feet from the ground. They also said that Randolph stabbed Eddins after Eddins struck Randolph with a stick. The men remained adamant in their testimony and could not be shaken by the able Judge Advocate. All of the men knew both Randolph and Eddins, and Mr. Chambers, who knew Eddins particularly well, said that "his character is that of a notorious liar."⁴⁷

When the questioning of the defense witnesses ended, the Judge Advocate called two more witnesses. One of the men was prevented from testifying because he had read the testimony of the other witnesses. A one-legged black shoemaker of Tuscaloosa named James Hatter was allowed to testify. Hatter, a good friend of Eddins, declared that the latter had a "general character for truth and veracity." When Hatter completed his testimony, the third day of the trial ended, and the testimony was finished.⁴⁸

On the fourth and final day of the trial, May 7, the defense counsel and the Judge Advocate made their concluding arguments. Randall, Pierce, and Somerville stated that no malice with intent to kill had been proven and that Randolph merely

years old and had lived in Tuscaloosa since 1852; John E. Chambers was fifty-five years old and had lived seven miles outside of Tuscaloosa since 1847. Eddins lived about one mile from Chambers.

⁴⁵H. M. Somerville to Robert McKee, May 1, 1868, Robert McKee Papers.

In his letter to McKee, Somerville asked McKee and the citizens of Selma to provide accommodations for these men when they arrived in Selma. Somerville said that the citizens of Tuscaloosa had already paid the transportation costs to Selma.

⁴⁶*Monitor*, May 5, 1868.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, May 12, 1868.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

fired his pistol to disperse the crowd. They argued that the stabbing was self-defense. They also argued that both Eddins and Hamner contradicted themselves on the witness stand and that their testimony was discredited by the other witnesses. Finally, the defense counsel said that "the Court owed it to themselves and the country to divest themselves of all political prejudices, to try the case upon its merits, and to render impartial justice between the government and accused."⁴⁹

The arguments of the Judge Advocate were brief. He said that Randolph shot at Eddins and that Eddins only attacked Randolph after being thus attacked. The stabbing of Eddins and the pistol shot presented sufficient evidence, according to the Judge Advocate, of malice with intent to kill. Finally, he stated that "it was necessary for the protection of society that the accused should be found guilty and punished."⁵⁰

With the completion of the closing arguments, the case was closed and turned over to the court which acted as both judge and jury. The verdict would remain secret until acted upon by General Meade. According to McKee, the trial had been a "tedious one," and everyone was relieved when it ended.⁵¹

During the trial Randolph's friends had lobbied for his release. John Forsyth, editor of the *Mobile Daily Register*, and Lewis Parsons, former provisional governor of Alabama in 1865, wrote President Johnson asking for intervention in Randolph's case. The latter, dated May 5, focused on the two most important issues: that Randolph was already under bond to appear before a state court when the military arrested him, and that Judge Busteed had issued a writ of *habeas corpus* that General Meade had refused to obey. The newspapers recorded no answer from Johnson.⁵²

It was learned before the trial ended that General Shepherd, under orders from Meade, had agreed to obey Busteed's writ. Randolph was to be taken to Montgomery on May 14 and tried

⁴⁹*Ibid.* For the complete text of Somerville's speech as he remembered it, see the *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 29, 1911.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*Ibid.*, May 19, 1868.

in Busted's court. Meade evidently decided to subordinate the military to the civil authority, but the decision came too late to affect Randolph.⁵³

After the completion of the trial, many people believed that Randolph would be found guilty. It was a well-known fact that most Military Commissions were organized to convict. They feared that Randolph would be sent to the Federal prison on the Dry Tortugas like other unfortunate victims of Military Commissions.⁵⁴ But surprisingly, on May 11, four days after the trial ended, the military released Randolph from jail on orders from General Meade. General Orders No. 78, issued on May 13, confirmed these preliminary orders: Randolph was found not guilty and acquitted.⁵⁵

The actual reason for Randolph's release was unknown, but four major interpretations arose. Some believed that President Johnson intervened in the case and forced Randolph's release. Because of his quick acquittal, Randolph himself believed this interpretation at first.⁵⁶ Another interpretation later promulgated was that General William J. Hardee of Selma, who had served in the army with General Shepherd, secured Randolph's release.⁵⁷

The third interpretation was that by releasing Randolph, General Meade found a convenient way to escape the embarrassment caused by Judge Busted's writ of *habeas corpus*.⁵⁸ Indeed, if Randolph had not been released prior to May 14, the day that Busted was to hear the case, then Busted would have been forced to rule on the constitutionality of the Re-

⁵³Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, May 9, 1868. A letter was written from Meade's headquarters on May 3 informing Shepherd that the writ of *habeas corpus* must be obeyed.

⁵⁴Montgomery *Daily Advertiser*, as quoted in Selma *Times and Messenger*, May 14, 1868.

⁵⁵Selma *Times and Messenger*, May 21, 1868. The Military Commission was also dissolved by this order.

⁵⁶Monitor, June 2, 1868. No proof of Johnson's intervention was located.

⁵⁷Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 22, 1911, and DuBose, *Alabama's Tragic Decade*, 244. See also an unidentified newspaper clipping in the V. M. Randolph Papers, Samford University, Special Collections, Birmingham, Alabama. DuBose was apparently the only major figure to hold this view. His viewpoint was refuted by Somerville in an article in the Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 29, 1911.

⁵⁸Livingston *Journal*, May 16, 1868.

construction Acts. The national Republican party wanted to avoid a case of this type if possible. If Busted had decided that the Reconstruction Acts were unconstitutional, then the entire Congressional scheme of Reconstruction would have been in question. But Meade thwarted this potentially earthshaking court hearing.⁵⁹

The most widely accepted explanation for Randolph's release was that the Military Commission itself acquitted him. The Montgomery *Daily Advertiser* believed this view and based its opinion on "the authority of a member of the Commission."⁶⁰ Randolph's attorney, Sommerville, also believed that the Commission found his client not guilty.⁶¹ Even the *Monitor* said that the "Military Commission at Selma has had the manhood, the virtue, the justice, to acquit the editor of the *Monitor* of the charges upon which he was recently put on trial before them."⁶²

After Randolph's release on May 11, the people of Selma greeted him with great acclaim. While returning to Tuscaloosa he received "ovation after ovation."⁶³ Randolph arrived in Tuscaloosa on May 14 and about two miles out of town Somerville and McEachin met him and gave him a seat in an open carriage. Near the southern border of town a group of ladies met the carriage and decorated it and the horses with flowers.⁶⁴

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, May 23, 1868. Meade later sent a letter to Busted in which Meade says that he never attempted to disobey the writ, "my [Meade's] telegram to General Clanton being predicated on his, and before I had received any official information that you had issued the writ."

The Randolph case resembled *Ex parte* McCardle, in which a Mississippi editor was convicted by a military commission for criticizing Radical Reconstruction. McCardle appealed to the Supreme Court early in 1868, just before Randolph himself came to trial. The Supreme Court was expected to rule in favor of McCardle and declare the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of 1867 unconstitutional but before it could act, Congress withdrew its jurisdiction. Thus, Randolph's case could not reach the Supreme Court, but his attempt would have proven extremely embarrassing to the Radical Republicans.

⁶⁰Montgomery *Daily Advertiser*, May 14, 1868.

⁶¹Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 29, 1911.

⁶²*Monitor*, May 19, 1868.

The official record of the court proceedings gives no reason why Randolph was released.

⁶³Ryland Randolph Collection of newspaper clippings, Samford University, Special Collections, Birmingham, Alabama.

⁶⁴Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 22, 1911.

As the carriage entered town the church bells began to ring, a signal for all citizens to gather on Greensboro Street.⁶⁵ Many prominent citizens of Tuscaloosa made speeches in honor of Randolph, and he replied in "brief but spirited words." Afterwards, the day concluded with a dinner honoring Randolph in an oak grove outside of town.⁶⁶

Thus ended one of the most important chapters in Ryland Randolph's life. Although Randolph knew many battles in his lifetime, he considered his fight with Balus Eddins the proudest act of his life.⁶⁷ He won a battle against the military government of Alabama and came dangerously close to upsetting Radical plans for reconstructing the South. Randolph proved the vulnerability of the Radical government, but his fight for white supremacy continued for several years. He soon led the opposition to the reconstructed University of Alabama; he continued his Ku Klux activities; he went to Montgomery as a state legislator, only to be expelled; he saw the Democratic forces eventually triumph in Alabama in the 1870's; and he died a rather anti-climactic death in Birmingham in 1903. Randolph knew both success and failure, but in May, 1868, he was gloriously successful. For the moment Randolph displayed the power of the *Independent Monitor's* motto: WHITE MAN — RIGHT OR WRONG — STILL THE WHITE MAN.

⁶⁵Gladys Ward, "The Life of Ryland Randolph," 19.

⁶⁶Montgomery *Advertiser*, January 22, 1911.

⁶⁷Ryland Randolph Memoirs, 95.

RACIAL GAMESMANSHIP AND THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF HAITI: AN ILLUSTRATIVE EPISODE

by

John A. Vernon

In 1930, a quasi-diplomatic body appointed by President Herbert Hoover to investigate educational conditions in Haiti under the U.S. Occupation, asked to be conveyed to and from its destination by battle cruiser. The State Department balked, citing the likely political complications to ensue from granting such a request. Nevertheless, the body's chairman, Dr. Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute, continued undaunted to press for what he regarded as a necessary and altogether appropriate mode of transportation. As a last recourse, the Tuskegee president attempted to go over the Department's head directly to Hoover himself. Despite Moton's persistence, the committee he assembled had to make its trip sans cruiser. Subsequent relations with the State Department became progressively more strained. Finally, even the educators' policy recommendations toward Haitian education were judged too impractical to implement. The mission amounted to a colossal exercise in futility for the participants.

From surface appearances, it would be easy to dismiss the battle cruiser matter as unimportant; certainly neither the committee nor its work had lasting impact. Further, such was the duration and controversial character of the total Occupation that its history provides numerous sensational and apparently more historically significant events. But Hans Schmidt, in his insightful, book-length study of the U.S. Occupation, has advanced the view that the American venture in Haiti was sabotaged by the racial and cultural antagonisms it engendered.¹ If his reasoning is correct, then the battle cruiser misunderstanding deserves closer scrutiny. For, with a single exception, the Moton committee members were black, and all

¹Schmidt's doctoral dissertation, "The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934" (Rutgers University, 1968) has since been published under the same title (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971). As the author of this paper utilized Schmidt's work in dissertation form, any page numbers cited in subsequent footnotes will refer to dissertation pagination.

of the State Department and Occupation employees involved were white. Complicating matters further for the educators and the bureaucrats were the attitudes of the American black press and those of the Haitians themselves. Reportedly, both of these latter groups expressed doubts as to the wisdom of sending Moton to Haiti. Thus, the battle cruiser incident's racial and cultural dimensions — its interplay of impersonal but powerful social forces — make the affair a partial microcosm for the larger Occupation experience. Distilled in this single episode are several of the most lethal psychological factors which ultimately doomed the total Occupation effort — despite the good intentions and considerable skills of those who engineered the operation.

The United States first landed troops in Haiti on June 28, 1915, apparently to protect foreign lives and property menaced by an aroused Haitian mob. Actually the immediate situation in the black republic only served as handy pretext for an action U.S. policy makers were increasingly coming to consider justifiable. Haiti's chronic political turmoil and shaky financial state made them fear that an unfriendly power, perhaps Germany, might launch a military invasion of its own unless the U.S. acted first. Haiti's proximity to the Panama Canal dictated that her irresponsible behavior cease. If not, United States security interests in the Caribbean could be endangered.

Swiftly, intervention became long-term occupation as American officials endeavored to stabilize conditions in Haiti. In quick order the customs houses were taken over, a financial receivership established, and a treaty promulgated calling for American supervision of Haiti affairs. Just as in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere, the top-ranking executors of U.S. policy were military men invested with supreme military and civil authority, and fully convinced of the efficacy of American ways. These would-be saviors usually conducted the North American-dictated programs of governmental reform with notable honesty and efficiency. Also, largely as an afterthought to justify the extended period of American residency, a number of useful treaty services were established in the 1920's — aimed primarily at combatting disease and malnutrition, improving sanitary facilities, building highways and public works, and providing agricultural and vocational instruction.

Yet despite their obvious achievements in these areas, the occupiers aroused bitter criticism for their anti-democratic methods.

American personnel monopolized most of the key positions of governmental authority from 1915 to 1930 and felt secure in countermanding the orders of their nominal superiors, hand-picked Haitian office holders, whenever necessary. Martial law and strict press censorship were applied if particular programs proved unpopular enough to evoke dissent. Moreover, occasional resort to physical force — most evident in a bloody and well-publicized campaign undertaken by U.S. marines to “pacify” Haitian rebels — effectively underscored the involuntary nature of Haitian involvement in Occupation policy as nothing else could.²

While all of this was going on, most American newspaper accounts described the Occupation in complimentary terms. Stories implying the frequent practice of cannibalism, butchery, and voodoo by Haitians not only provided interesting copy at home but helped foster the impression there that the sometimes severe measures were plainly called for. White journalists invariably contended that most Haitians regarded American actions as benevolent.³

Not so with their black counterparts. Such headlines as “BLOOD RED RECORD OF THE ‘CRACKER’ IN THE CARIBBEAN” and “U.S. BUSY EXPLAINING THE BRUTAL RULE OF SOUTHERNERS IN CONQUERED ISLAND” proclaimed a radically different interpretation.⁴ Black newspapers insisted that the original intervention and subsequent occupation had been racially inspired. Thus, white officials consciously intended Haiti’s subjugation as a rebuke not only to the native

²C.f. Dana G. Munro, *The United States and the Caribbean Area* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1934), 159-179 and Donald B. Cooper, “The American Withdrawal from Haiti, 1929-1934,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* V (January, 1963), 83-101 for two divergent impressions of the Occupation.

³E.g., Henry E. Armstrong, “The White City of the Blacks,” *New York Times Magazine*, March 30, 1924; “Haiti and Its Regeneration by the United States,” *National Geographic Magazine*, December, 1920; William Almon Wolff, “With the Marines in Haiti” and “Finance and Tom-Toms,” *Collier’s Weekly Magazine*, May 24 and May 31, 1919, respectively.

⁴*The Negro World*, February 14, 1920; *The Chicago Defender*, October 20, 1920.

population of that island but to the race to which they belonged. The American black press warned its readers that Haiti's present sad state acted as a grim object-lesson for heedless black Americans should they abandon the struggle for full economic and political parity in the U.S. Therefore, what on the surface might have seemed a distraction from domestic racial unrest — the occupation of a Caribbean island — actually served as an extension. Accordingly, every example of ignorance, every indiscreet act, every instance of cultural chauvinism was noted and uniformly described as racially prompted.

Certainly the words and deeds of a number of prominent Occupation principals lent some measure of credibility to such charges. For example, William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State when the Occupation was being contemplated, was quoted as remarking when informed of the Haitian affinity for French culture, "Dear me, think of it! Niggers speaking French."⁵ On another occasion, Smedley Butler, a controversial marine officer explained, "Haitians may be divided into two classes, those who wear shoes and those who don't. I regarded those who wore shoes as a joke."⁶ And High Commissioner John H. Russell, after 1922 the most powerful governmental official in Haiti, observed in his 1925 annual report:

The peasants, who form the mass (85%) of the population and who have so long been held by their literate brothers in a backward state, have the mentality of a child of not more than seven years of age reared under advantageous conditions.⁷

Whether such comments as these were always uttered out of deep-seated racism or occasionally only out of cultural ignorance, they succeeded in generating an enormous hostility on the part of articulate blacks both in Haiti and the United States.

Especially galled was the Haitian upper class. The *elite*, as this tiny group was called, rightly perceived the threat posed

⁵ John H. Allen, "Inside View of Revolutions in Haiti," *Current History Magazine*, May 19, 1930, 325.

⁶ As quoted by Helena Hill Weed, "In Haiti—And Out?" *The World Tomorrow*, May 1930, 214.

⁷ As quoted by Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Haiti Under American Control, 1915-1930* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1931), 110.

to its status by the continued American presence in Haiti. Its members reacted with indignation to being dislodged from governmental posts unless they supported Occupation aims. In so protesting they had forgotten, of course, their own past record of misgovernment. Nevertheless, they constantly deprecated valuable technical services inaugurated under the treaty with the United States, dismissing them as unwarranted or grounded in racial and cultural misassumptions. The elite thus attributed U.S. insistence on promoting large-scale agricultural and vocational education to motives other than the professed desire to benefit the Haitian masses. In its eyes American technicians either were so consumed with material concerns as to have the obvious aesthetic value to be derived from the older Haitian educational system elude them, or they wrongly considered all blacks incapable of acquiring more than a rudimen-

Members of the *elite* fought back, shrewdly and well. Their mouthpiece — the Haitian press — attempted to lay Haiti's tary education. Particularly offensive was the importation of American racial discrimination into their country. Segregation in occupied Haiti even extended so far as to preclude the admission of the Haitian president into an American social club.⁸ case before the world. Articles were smuggled out for printing by the receptive American press, lobby groups dispatched to Washington, boycotts of Occupation activities organized, and patriotic organizations created to work with civil libertarians in the United States. Private citizens sent letters of outrage to American black newspapers — stressing the assumed closeness between Haitian and American blacks as a result of their mutual degradation at the hands of white Americans.⁹

So deceptively gradual was the build up of cultural and racial resentments in Haiti that the inevitable explosion astonished Occupation and State Department officials. Initially touched off by unpopular policy decisions affecting Haitian education, a conflagration of sympathy strikes, riots, and other civil disorders swept through Haiti in the fall and winter of 1929. The publicity which such discomfoting developments provoked and

⁸Schmidt, *The United States Occupation*, 176-177.

⁹For an elaboration of the Haitian *elite's* efforts to affect American public opinion, see Rodney A. Ross, "Black Americans and Haiti, Liberia, the Virgin Islands, and Ethiopia, 1929-1936 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975), chapter I.

Hoover's own already growing conviction that traditional U.S. diplomacy toward Latin America needed revision, prompted him to announce in early February, 1930, the appointment of two investigative bodies. One, headed by W. Cameron Forbes, ex-Governor General of the Phillipines, was created for the purpose of restoring political stability to the turbulent republic. The other, to be assembled and led by Tuskegee Institute's distinguished president, Robert R. Moton, was asked to look into Occupation educational practices with a view to recommending necessary improvements.¹⁰

Chairman Forbes and his all-white political entourage encountered no insurmountable obstacles. By mid-March the commission had journeyed to Haiti, surveyed conditions there, and laid the basis for a return to constitutional government — in the process winning over many of those at first wary as to its purposes.¹¹

However, because Dr. Moton and most of the men he selected to assist in the proposed educational work were black, they found themselves in a wholly different situation. Not since the Taft Administration had black Americans performed as official U.S. emissaries to Haiti. Consequently Hoover's present decision raised many eyebrows.

Among veteran observers, none were more distressed than State Department personnel. The Department's Latin American Division had been warned several times that the troublesome Haitian *elite* especially opposed the use of American blacks in a diplomatic capacity.¹² According to High Commissioner Russell, even the normally compliant Haitian president recently delivered his own unfavorable sentiments on the subject. Therefore, despite Dr. Moton's reputation and previously demon-

¹⁰Dana G. Munro, "The American Withdrawal from Haiti, 1929-1934," *Hispanic American Historical Review* XLIX (February, 1969), 4, 25.

¹¹For representative accounts of the Forbes commission's triumphs, see "Ending A Nightmare," *The Amsterdam News*, March 15, 1930; "A Victory for Courage," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, March 15, 1930.

¹²Dana G. Munro, Div. Chief to Francis White, December 12, 1929, 838.60/2-1/2, Decimal file, 800.00 series: "Internal Affairs of Haiti, 1910-1938," General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited in abbreviated form as follows: — to —, date, decimal number, RG 59/NA.)

strated record of service, the Department fretted.¹³ Occupied Haiti had proved to be an unsuspected powder keg; what it surely did not need was the introduction of a new potentially dangerous dynamic.

Reservations toward the Moton designation arose in other quarters as well. Somewhat surprisingly, rather than rejoice at Moton's good fortune, the American black press preferred to conjecture over the appointment's meaning. The *Afro-American*, disappointed that no black had been named to the political committee, alleged that Hoover must have intended Moton's group to be an inferior appendage. As such, the "Jim-Crow" adjunct would possess little power to deflect Occupation policy on its own.¹⁴ The *Washington Tribune* characterized the President's action as a transparently political maneuver designed chiefly to gain black votes.¹⁵ Other black newspapers, for example, the *Birmingham Reporter*, maintained that the Tuskegee president lacked the appropriate background in Haitian affairs to do that beleaguered nation much good, terming Hoover's gesture "just as gracious as it was non-functional."¹⁶ The *Atlanta Independent* went so far as to urge the diplomat-to-be to decline the invitation, tendered as it was by an administration clearly "anti-Negro to the bone."¹⁷ If to black journalists Hoover was the actual villain then Moton, if he went through with the deed, would be an accessory to the crime.

Moton recognized, if Hoover could not, the reasons for the American black community's current displeasure. Tired of Republican platitudes and unfulfilled ideals, and uncertain of

¹³Moton and the State Department had gotten to know each other in previous dealings over Liberian and Haitian matters. In fact, after Sen. Medill McCormick of Ill. proposed that Moton be included in an investigative group in 1922, the State Department had had considerable occasion to evaluate Dr. Moton's credentials.

¹⁴"Jim-Crow Commission," *The (Baltimore) Afro-American*, February 15, 1930.

¹⁵"The Hoover Haitian Committee," *The Washington Tribune*, February 14, 1930.

¹⁶"The Disappointment of the Haitian Commission," *The Birmingham Reporter*, February 15, 1930; see also the *Norfolk Journal and Guide's* scathing commentary ("Jim-Crow?," March 1, 1930).

¹⁷"Dr. Moton Ought Not to Accept the Designation," February 20, 1930. Similar editorials include: Patrick B. Prescott, "Moton Should Resign," the *Chicago Whip*, February 15, 1930; Arthur A. Schomburg, "Dr. Moton Should Resign Haytian Education Commission as Duty to Race Here and There," *New York News*, March 5, 1930.

the President's own racial posture, it was expressing its dissatisfaction with the administration through criticism of the Moton nomination. Too, for many blacks of a new generation the Tuskegee head was tainted by his association with what they regarded as the outmoded and overly submissive policies of his predecessor, Booker T. Washington. Of course, Moton may not have been chosen by Hoover out of political considerations. After all, as Secretary of Commerce Hoover had worked with Moton in the 1927 Mississippi River flood's aftermath, knew and approved of Moton's role as a "constructive" race leader, witnessed Moton's and Tuskegee's contribution toward his own 1928 presidential campaign, and after his election Hoover very well might have been told of Motion's enduring interest in Haiti's fate. For these reasons then Moton could have appeared the ideal candidate for assessing ticklish Occupation educational matters despite what others less informed might think.¹⁸

At the same time the pragmatic Dr. Moton had to weigh the possibilities and risks attached to accepting Hoover's charge. Undeniably the occasion offered a rare opportunity not to be taken lightly. If managed well it afforded the black American the chance to exhibit his patriotism and to help Haiti in the bargain. Nonetheless, Moton foresaw that his group's intended racial composition would force him from the outset to fight for its right to be taken seriously as a diplomatic entity. Made up exclusively as it was of prominent white Americans and the merit of its task self-evident, the Forbes commission had found its path less strewn with challenges to its credibility. As he waited for clearance before proceeding to Haiti, Moton searched for the means to unmistakably demonstrate that the two presidential committees were of equal importance. One idea he seized upon to accomplish this was that of transporting his assemblage by battle cruiser, in the same manner as Forbes' political committee had been. Such a tangible indicator of the importance that the U.S. government itself attached to the educational mission could do much to silence political critics.

¹⁸Richard B. Sherman, *The Republican Party and Black America: From McKinley to Hoover, 1896-1933* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1973), 226-229; 233-234; William H. Hughes and Frederick D. Patterson, eds., *Robert Ruess Moton of Hampton and Tuskegee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 98, 202-203.

Moton's resolve to gain the ship was strengthened by disappointment over an earlier, lost opportunity to impress. Just before the political commission left for Haiti, Moton had sought and obtained an invitation to accompany the Forbes group aboard its own naval vessel. This was done ostensibly so that he might begin a preliminary survey of educational conditions but in reality, as Moton confided to Latin American Division Chief Dana Munro, his main effect was for "the effect such an invitation would have on the Negro press."¹⁹ Although Forbes tendered the invitation, Moton was asked by the State Department to turn it down. The official excuse given was Haiti's unsettled political state. However, he was not told of an additional reason for his foregoing the trip with Forbes. That reason was, as Munro disclosed to Acting Secretary of State Joseph Cotton in a memorandum, "the embarrassment and complications which would ensue if we ask the Navy to provide accommodations for Dr. Moton on the *Rochester*,"²⁰ Instead Moton was advised of the antipathy that the Haitian *elite* was said to harbor toward the very sort of vocational and agricultural education he represented. In recognition of this sentiment he should delay making his appearance until conditions became less volatile in Haiti.²¹ Moton deferred to Departmental judgment in the matter and voluntarily issued a reassuring press statement to calm Haitian anxieties.²² But he realized also that a considerable opportunity to acquire domestic and international prestige for his group had vanished with the invitation. Thus, he was coming to deem suitable travel arrangements for the educational committee's trip to Haiti as *sine qua non*.

¹⁹Departmental transcription of telephone conversation, March 7, 1930, 838.42/3, RG 59/NA. It is interesting to note that when Moton believed that he would be making an investigation in 1923 for Senator McCormick, he wrote, "It would be a good thing for moral as well as political considerations if the State Department should arrange to have a cruiser, or other vessel of the Navy carry over party to the island when we are ready to go." (Moton to Sen. Medill McCormick, May 16, 1923, Student Correspondence, Box 13, Moton MSS, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.)

²⁰Munro to Cotton, February 20, 1930, 838.42/12, RG 59/NA.

²¹Cotton to Moton, telegram, February 20, 1930, 838.00/192, RG 59/NA.

²²Moton to Cotton, February 22, 1930, with enclosed press statement, General Correspondence, Box 164, file 1345, Moton MSS, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Hereinafter shortened to Moton MSS, GC-(General Correspondence), TI.

From February to June, 1930, Dr. Moton awaited the State Department's permission before entering the Haitian maelstrom. The extended delay gave him time to further develop the tactics with which he hoped to convert skeptics. Yet during this period occurred also the Judge Parker nomination, the DePriest incident at the White House, Hoover's non-attendance at the N.A.A.C.P.'s annual convention (thereby becoming the first chief executive since Wilson to fail to do so), and his advisors' wooing of Southern lily-white Republicans. In addition, a flap had arisen over the War Department's determination to furnish segregated transportation on the basis of race for gold star widows and mothers wishing to visit the graves of their servicemen husbands and sons who died in Europe.²³ Perhaps the parallel in circumstances between the gold star mothers and his own struck Moton. Even if it did not, this and other accumulated black grievances made it all the more imperative that he obtain satisfaction in the battle cruiser matter. To Moton while these damaging events strengthened his case for the ship, if it was not forthcoming he would be rendered all the more vulnerable for his association with the administration considered patently racist by many blacks.

Wishing to dispel fear that his group necessarily constituted a challenge to Haitian culture, Moton several times met with the Haitian charge d'affaires stationed in Washington.²⁴ He engaged in correspondence with Forbes of the political commission and often consulted with the State Department over current black attitudes toward the mission.²⁵ The aggregation of commission members and accompanying black journalists put together attested to his wide contacts and native shrewdness.²⁶

²³Sherman, *The Republican Party and Black America*, 235-246.

²⁴Haitian charge Raoul Lizaïre apparently gave the State Department and Moton differing stories as to how the Haitians would receive black diplomats. Cf. transcription, Lizaïre's conversation with Munro, February 19, 838.42/11, NA, and Lizaïre's letter to Moton of April 10 and May 16, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, f. 1345, TI.

²⁵W. Cameron Forbes to Moton, April 10, 1930; Moton to Forbes, April 12, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, f. 1345.

²⁶Moton asked old friend and organizer of the Associated Negro Press, Claude A. Barnett to go with him to Haiti. He also requested that Carl Murphy, president and editor of the (Baltimore) *Afro-American*, make the journey. Barnett could not accept but offered P. L. Prattis, one of his young and capable employees in his stead. Both Prattis and Murphy were good choices. Moton also chose the General Educational Board's field secretary, Leo M. Favrot, as much for racial

Nothing was spared to assure the State Department that he was fully cognizant of the need to proceed slowly and cautiously.

Unrelentingly, he played upon the battle cruiser theme, writing to the Department that the vessel was absolutely essential for warding off adverse reaction. On April 7, for example, Moton indicated that the black press persisted in villifying both Hoover and himself. Further he added that although he personally did not mind, he did want to protect the President from unfair criticism. Moton speculated also that Forbes would agree to the need for a battle cruiser.²⁷

On April 17, Acting Secretary Cotton responded to his plea. In his letter Cotton outlined the reasons for opposing Moton's plans to shore up the educational commission's credibility:

You have written us about the possibility of going on a cruiser. Forbes and his Commission went on a cruiser when we frankly wanted to impress on a very turbulent and disturbed population the political nature of the mission and give them an idea that we were prepared to maintain order very vigorously, but I want just as few cruisers as possible in Haitian waters and it seems to me for an educational mission that it would be the worst possible entree.²⁸

Undeterred, Moton tried again. A telephone conversation with Dana Munro manifested the depth of his concern. Munro summarized Moton's thoughts as follows:

... he [Moton] said the American Negroes were very much dissatisfied about several things which had happened, and particularly with the failure to appoint a Negro on the President's Commission [Forbes' commission]. In referring to the Commission and the

considerations as for his ability. (Favrot was the lone white participant.) In so doing he helped sway both white and black opinion in the commission's favor. See "Moton's Subtle Rebuke to President Hoover," the *Afro-American*, March 15, 1930, for a changed impression of the commission and of Moton.

²⁷Moton to James C. Dunn, April 7, 1930 838.42/14, RG 59/NA; see also Moton to Forbes, April 12, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, f. 1345, TI.

²⁸Cotton to Moton, 838.42/19, RG 59/NA.

Educational Mission, Negro editors were saying that the President "annointed his white men but appointed his colored men." He felt, therefore, that he ought to be sent to Haiti on a cruiser as the Commission had been, although he would personally prefer to travel in some other manner.²⁹

The time for departure grew short as Moton and the Department traded views as to the cruiser's feasibility.³⁰ Although he continued to hope that the Department might relent, on May 22 Moton went ahead to make reservations for his group on a commercial steamer.³¹ Acting Secretary Cotton informed Moton four days later that he considered the earlier assessment still valid. At the moment all seemed tranquil in Haiti, and the Acting Secretary reminded Moton that the Department wished the educational mission to take place before new political complications could materialize. He added that a postponement beyond the projected June 10 date would be "very bad because I am hopeful that some of the recommendations which the Commission shall make may be of real help to whoever takes up the work of guiding Haiti."³²

Moton temporarily had to put the cruiser out of mind as he made last minute preparations for departure. The commission members and the State Department were notified that he had secured accommodations aboard the S.S. *Ancon* and that he had arranged a conference for his group with Forbes just before sailing.³³ Moton in an informal note also thanked the Department for handling many of the trip's details for him.³⁴ The courtesy of his gesture may have lulled Departmental personnel into believing that their trials with Moton were at an end. If so, they were mistaken. Moton, unable to obtain return accommodations via commercial liner, considered the cruiser

²⁹Telephone transcription, May 19, 1930, 838.42/24, RG 59/NA.

³⁰Moton to Benjamin F. Hubert, May 29, 1930, Moton MSS GC-164, f. 1345, TI; Moton to Cotton, May 24, 1930, 838.42/21, RG 59/NA.

³¹Moton to Panama Steamship Company, telegram, May 22, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, f. 1346, TI.

³²Cotton to Moton, May 26, 1930, 838.42/22, RG 59/NA.

³³Moton to commission members, telegrams, May 31, 1930; Forbes to Moton, telegram, June 8, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, f. 1345, TI; Moton to Cotton, telegram, June 5, 1930, 838.42/26, RG 59/NA.

³⁴Moton to Cotton, telegram, June 6, 1930, 838.42/26a, RG 59/NA.

matter yet unclosed. For the time being, however, he and his fellow commissioners occupied themselves with conducting the investigation and making friends with the Haitians.

Apprehensions that the Haitians might react violently to their presence in Haiti proved needless. Greeted at the dock in Port-au-Prince by a "largely friendly crowd," the commission met an "extremely cordial" Haitian president Eugene Roy.³⁵ Roy assured the educational group of his total cooperation and that of his Minister of Education. That same afternoon various athletic events and demonstrations took place in the committee's honor.

For most of the rest of the commission's stay, the Haitians feted and flattered their visitors. The black journalists with Moton's group bombarded their papers back home with tales emphasizing an atmosphere of unfailing good will and mutual admiration.³⁶ American charge Stuart Grummon related to the anxious State Department that "there has been a gratifying absence of any hostility on account of the committee's being composed of American Negroes." Grummon went on to say, "The Commission has used the greatest tact in dealing with the Haitians and has made spontaneous gestures of friendship which President Roy has assured me have been greatly appreciated."³⁷

After long hours of touring the Haitian countryside, talking to supporters and critics of the Occupational educational apparatus, and reviewing the latter's methods and programs, the Moton committee made ready to return to the United States. Once more, concern about the mode of conveyance threatened to disrupt the outwardly cordial relations between the Department and the commission. On June 30, Grummon sent a disturbing message to the State Department. According to the charge, Moton had just informed him that "as suggested by Secretary Cotton," a cruiser would be supplied for the voyage

³⁵Grummon, dispatch to State Department, June 16, 1930, 838.42/41, RG 59/NA.

³⁶Typical articles included: "Haitian President's Face Beams in Chat With Moton," June 21, 1930, the *Afro-American*; "Pomp and Color Feature Routine of Moton Group," June 28, 1930, the *Afro-American*; "Moton Acts to Avert Haitian School Strike," July 12, 1930, the *Afro-American*.

³⁷Grummon to Secretary of State Henry Stimson, cable, June 23, 1930, 838.42/68, RG59/NA.

home.³⁸ When the Department replied that no such agreement between Moton and Cotton had been in effect, the nervous Grummon wired back to Washington:

Dr. Moton and committee insist that naval vessel be sent to bring committee to the United States in accordance with alleged promise of the Under-Secretary of State [Cotton] and the White House. Committee feels prestige will be lowered if this is not done.³⁹

This immediate difficulty awakened in the Moton group suspicions that the denial was racially motivated. Moton knew that in matters of importance to the State Department he had cooperated fully, willingly modifying plans and often incurring criticism from the black press as a result. Now he was inclined to consider the Department's present stubbornness betrayal. For its part, memoranda and notations attached to Grummon's June 30 telegram confirm that the State Department indeed was sure that no promise had been proffered to Moton, and that Cotton and others regarded his demand unreasonable in terms of logistics. However, other notations also reflect something else — a prime reason for refusal was Navy Department objections to its being granted. Latin American Division Specialist Winthrop R. Scott sent a memorandum to Under Secretary Walter C. Thurston on July 1 to that effect. Scott noted that if the ship were conferred the Navy felt "it would be setting a very bad precedent . . . as the same thing under similar circumstances would have to always be done in the future." That view notwithstanding, another official, Assistant Secretary Francis White, reminded Thurston that if "it seems desirable to return commission on a war vessel, it can be done of course."⁴⁰

When the Department offered a minesweeper as a replacement for the prized battle cruiser, American charge Grummon communicated the angry committee's reaction — that it was being "Jim-Crowed."⁴¹

³⁸Moton to Grummon, June 30, 1930, Moton MSS, GC-164, TI; Grummon to Stimson, cable, June 30, 1930, 838.42/55, RG 59/NA.

³⁹Grummon to Stimson, cable, July 3, 1930, 838.42/58, in reply to earlier Departmental cable of July 2, 1930, 838.42/57, RG 59/NA.

⁴⁰State Department memoranda, 838.42/55, RG 59/NA.

⁴¹Grummon to Secretary Stimson, dispatch, July 4, 1930, 838.42/59, RG 59/NA.

On July 7 Grummon relayed to the Department the text of a letter Dr. Moton wanted delivered to President Hoover. It began: "Your commission is inconvenienced and about to be humiliated in the matter of transportation to the U.S. . . ." In the body of the letter Moton asserted that the State Department had reneged on its promise to him. He contended that after obediently going through channels, he found himself with nothing more than a "minesweeping tug" with inadequate sleeping quarters for his party. Moton therefore requested that the President grant "at the earliest possible date safe and comfortable accommodations compatible with the importance of our mission." He closed ominously:

I feel sure that the people of Haiti as well as the colored people of the United States will regard this an humiliation that I am sure is not in accordance with your desires.⁴²

In what was for Moton a moment of uncharacteristic pique, he had poured out his frustrations. His most formidable obstacle had turned out to be — neither the Haitian *elite* nor the American black press as anticipated — but rather the State Department. Constantly rebuffed in the battle cruiser matter by his supposed ally, Moton had come to impute Departmental unresponsiveness to racism of the sort which caused some whites to bend over backward not to help the black man even were it in their power to do so. In denying the most obvious symbol of commission importance, Moton felt that ironically the State Department was undoing all the previous successes gained by the educational commission in Haiti.

Predictably, State Department personnel saw things differently. If transporting black diplomats to occupied Haiti was normally risky, transporting them now aboard a U.S. war vessel would amount to madness. Such a naked and highly visible reminder of American power as a cruiser might lead to a resurgence of Haitian resentment against the Occupation. Much as they cared to sympathize with Moton for his predicament, State Department personnel could not endanger U.S.

⁴² Moton to Hoover, July 7, 1930, 838.42/62; see Carl Murphy's account of the trip home and the accommodations secured in "Moton Group Arrives Home With Eight Drums," the *Afro-American*, July 19, 1930.

foreign policy merely to accommodate one black's whims, no matter how uncomfortable he tried to make them as a result. Such was their view of the situation.

That Moton ultimately found other accommodations for his commission, made little difference. The damage had been done, the battle lines formed, suspicions inflamed. Subsequent relations would only slightly stray from the established pattern. Because both the Department and the committee required a favorable public image while they pursued somewhat different goals, they found that they could not always cooperate. Each in its disgruntlement began to construe the other's actions in light of its own past perception of characteristic racial behavior. Thus, the State Department, accustomed to having its pronouncements accepted as the last word, perceived Moton's demands as consistent with a general black tendency to look out for the race to the possible detriment of the public good. And Moton, consistently thwarted in the ends he sought, attributed the Department's obstinacy to a congenital unwillingness to deal with black Americans on anything approaching an equal basis.

In certain respects both appraisals were valid. Gone was Moton's usual flexibility, devoured by his desire to appease the black press. So eager had he been for the commission to gain respect within the race that he had continued to pressure the Department for what it believed to be a gaudy trophy, thus antagonizing it in the process. He had been willing to gamble that State Department officials had expressed their reluctance purely out of reflexive racism, not really out of concern for Haitian policy. As for these employees, their conduct had conjoined a reasonable fear as to the consequences of using Moton with skewed judgment based on racial considerations. The result was the application of a glaring double standard for the two committees: one could utilize a cruiser without adverse effects; the other could not. One was deemed loyal to the rules; the other was considered untrustworthy to the point of being willing to sacrifice everything before the altar of public opinion if it did not get its way. The Moton commission's disinclination to follow guidelines of behavior formulated by white experts for its benefit must have seemed to the State Department disgustingly similar to the pattern practiced by Haitians under the Occupation.

Indeed, a year later, the now U.S. Minister to Haiti, Dana Munro, was moved to complain about the continuing lack of Haitian character in this regard. His befuddlement mixed with indignation is particularly revealing about basic Departmental assumptions. According to Munro:

The Haitians are totally unlike the Spanish-Americans. With the latter, one can usually appeal to their better qualities and count on a certain amount of real patriotism . . . The Haitian seems to think primarily in terms of jobs . . . There seems to be no readiness to recognize the fact that the work is more efficiently and honestly performed under American direction . . . The Spanish-American, if you treat him in a friendly way, will take some pride in playing the game with you until the temptation to double-cross becomes too strong, whereas, here there seems to be no real disposition to play the game at all. . . . Force, after all, is the only thing these people have any respect for.⁴³

White, himself an old hand at making Latin American policy, held interesting views as well, expressing them in racist terms on at least one occasion. In 1932, after having been requested by the Senate Finance Committee to refute testimony given by the brother of the Haitian Foreign Minister, White expressed his vexation. In his letter to his close friend Munro recalling the event, White told him, "I replied that I had no intention of doing so — that I had no idea of getting into an argument with a coon on the stand."⁴⁴

Remarks such as these, made privately to trusted acquaintances and produced under stress, for obvious reasons were seldom voiced in public. Yet they eloquently reflect the underlying prejudices of influential U.S. policy makers. Bent on uplifting Haitians whether they appreciated the gesture or not, State Department and Occupation employees only antagonized the recipients through attitudes unlike those displayed by the

⁴³Munro to White, January 9, 1931, Box 14, Francis White Papers, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter abbreviated according to same scheme as with the State Department's decimal records on Haiti.

⁴⁴White to Munro, February 24, 1932, Box 5, White Papers, RG 59/NA.

Moton commission. Of course, the educational commission had only brief encounters with the Haitians and the Department, charming the former and irritating the latter.

Several more disagreements beyond merely the battle cruiser affair complicated dealings between Department and commission. Each furnished an individual source of friction and in combination with the others testified to the stultifying effects of racism, real and imagined. Massive alienation occurred despite the relatively common cultural and political values of commission and State Department members, and their common devotion to carrying out the President's wishes toward Haiti. If racial and cultural barriers could isolate fellow Americans in so short a time, how much more likely were these psychological factors to prohibit any real understanding between the Haitians and the white North Americans? Thus, when the last North American finally left Haitian soil, what was remembered by many was not the physical accomplishments of the occupiers but their racial condescension and cultural smugness. Perhaps the words used by Talleyrand to describe the attitudes of the French Bourbons, "They have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing," apply equally well in this case and even constitute a fitting epitaph for American involvement in Haiti.

THE DEPUTED GREAT SEAL OF
BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

by

Robert R. Rea

The sovereign authority of the State is customarily displayed on official documents by the Great Seal of the issuing government or ruler. Thus the Great Seal of the State of Alabama appears on the cover of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* denoting that it is published under the aegis of the State. The custom is ancient. In medieval England the king's seal was regularly used to validate orders, letters, charters, grants and other documents. Initially a simple signet ring, the royal seal gradually became more elaborate and its size increased to the point that, of necessity, it passed from the fingers of the monarch into the care and keeping of his Chancellor who, on state occasions, carried (and still has carried before him) the elaborately embroidered seal bag symbolic of his office. By the eighteenth century the British government utilized a large number of especially designed seals, and among these were the deputed great seals, those created for the use of the governors of the several American royal colonies.

Remarkably little is known about the official colonial seals, and relatively few impressions of them have survived into the late twentieth century. Normally pressed into red wax which was attached by ribbon to a document, examples of these seals have tended to dry out, crumble and disintegrate, so that they are today but fragments. Some, wherein the wax was covered with paper before the impression was made, have fared better, but even then the relief on the seals is usually so low that the details are apt to be lost. Most of the surviving pre-Revolutionary provincial seals have long since been detached from the documents to which they once gave authority, but detachment could also result in the loss of the seal. This seems to have been the fate of the Great Seal of the colony of British West Florida, which included the southern portion of modern Alabama, for no example of that seal appears to exist among the many documents to which it was once attached and which are now to be found in the vast collections of the British Library

and the Public Record Office in London.¹

The general configuration of the West Florida seal may be known today, however, as a result of the curiosity and initiative of a mid-nineteenth century Mississippian, Benjamin L. C. Wailes, who reproduced both sides of the West Florida seal in his *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*.² His illustration shows a draftsman's attention to detail, but little artistic appreciation, and the accuracy of his drawing certainly leaves much to be desired.³ Peter J. Hamilton copied Wailes' illustration in his *Colonial Mobile*,⁴ partially superimposing one side on the other and losing some refinement of detail in the process of reproduction.

Happily, certain information regarding the creation of the West Florida seal, and a precise description of it, can be gleaned

¹On colonial seals see Hilary Jenkinson, "The Great Seal of England: Deputed or Departmental," *Archaeologia*, LXXXV (1935), 355ff; Peter Walne, "The Royal Seals of Colonial America," *Antiques*, CXIV (July, 1978), 142-49. Jenkinson, the foremost modern authority on sigillography, thoroughly searched the British repositories about fifty years ago and found no copy of the West Florida seal. My own efforts in 1978 proved similarly fruitless. The manuscript Acts of the General Assembly carry notations indicating the removal of the seals once attached to them, but officials at the Public Record Office insist that removal must have occurred before the Acts were deposited in their hands from the old Colonial Office, and its successor, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, does not possess the seals. I must express a word of appreciation to the several gentlemen in these libraries who cheerfully assisted me in what they obviously thought to be a most eccentric wild goose chase.

²(Jackson, Miss., 1854), facing p. 117.

³As noted herein, the West Florida seal was made under the same instructions, at the same time, and by the same engraver as that for Quebec. Conrad Swan, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty* (Toronto, 1977), 105-106, 226-227, discusses the deputed Great Seal of Quebec and provides a magnificent photographic illustration. Assuming that all of the seals in this group were identical in displaying the titles and arms of George III, as was clearly the intention of the Mint Board, the Wailes illustration is flawed in the following details. Each word or abbreviation should be separated from the next by a dot centered in the line of engraved letters; Wailes' illustration shows only three or four such distinguishing marks and they are at the foot of the letters, not centered as they should be. Wailes' illustration shows the abbreviation BRI instead of the proper form BR for Britanniae. Several abbreviations are run together in Wailes' reproduction: BRUNET, SRIAR, and most exasperating, PREL which suggests the title of "prelate" but actually stands for Prince Elector. These shortcomings may, of course, be explained by the imperfect physical condition of the impression which Wailes had at hand.

⁴Reprinted from the Revised (1910) Edition, ed. Charles G. Summersell (University, Ala., 1976), facing p. 246.

from the surviving records of those departments of government concerned with its production, the Royal Mint most particularly, although the Mint files are incomplete, having been weeded out in the nineteenth century by an early "records management" consultant who discarded whatever he happened to think uninteresting. An isolated document at the William L. Clements Library offers some further tantalizing evidence regarding the drafting of a seal for West Florida, though just what it signifies is less than clear.

The story of the West Florida seal begins with the triumph of British arms in the Seven Years War. Among the fruits of victory was the Florida peninsula and the Gulf Coast littoral as far west as the Isle of Orleans. Ceded to George III by the Kings of Spain and France by the Treaty of Paris, concluded in February 1763, these lands were divided between the new colonies of East and West Florida by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763. The proclamation, which was the result of months of study and consultation between the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade, defined the boundaries and created the governmental structures of the two colonies. Steps had already been taken to implement their existence.⁵ The appointment of governors for the two Floridas — George Johnstone for West Florida and James Grant for East Florida — was a matter of political interest to which George III gave personal attention, but more routine arrangements were left to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and the Plantations, otherwise known as the Board of Trade, over which the Earl of Shelburne presided from April to September 1763. It was upon representation from the Board of Trade that the Privy Council, on October 5, 1763, directed His Majesty's Chief Engraver of Seals to prepare drafts of seals for the new colonies of Quebec, Grenada, East and West Florida.⁶

The record does not show how the approved designs of the seals were selected, but it appears that more than one proposal for the West Florida seal was submitted to the Board of Trade, and it is likely that the choice of design was made during the period Shelburne was President of the Board. It was deter-

⁵See Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1942).

⁶*Acts of the Privy Council of England. Colonial Series. Vol. IV A.D. 1745-1766* (London, 1911), 573.

mined that all of the seals should display the royal arms and titles on one side. The pattern selected for West Florida carried on the reverse side "a Representation of a cultivated Country interspersed with Vineyards and Corn Fields and with this Motto or Legend underneath *Melioribus utere fatis* [Enjoy a better fate than was mine],⁷ and this Inscription round the Circumference *Sigillum Provinciae nostrae Florida Occidentallis*." Among the Shelburne papers is an otherwise unidentified document that describes a seal for West Florida which may well be a rejected draft.⁸ One side of this design carries the standard display of the royal arms and titles as found on all the colonial seals of this period. The other side was intended to show "a figure representing America making offerings upon an Altar of Peace with this Motto or Legend underneath, *Pax ades et toto mitis in Orbe mane* [Peace, may you be present and abide gentle in the whole world],⁹ and this Inscription round the Circumference, *Sigillum provincia nostra Florida Occidentalis*." One can only speculate that the choice was made on the ground that the discarded model was overly general in application. All of the new seals carried drawings and mottoes that were fairly specific in their reference to the particular

⁷Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book 6, verse 546. At this point in his travels Aeneas arrives in southern Italy and is escorted to the Underworld so that he may view future generations of Romans waiting to be born and the future glories of the empire—as well as a few cautionary examples of those who have experienced a deal of trouble in the afterlife. Aeneas comes upon fields populated by men who gained glory in war, among whom is Deiphobus, son of Priam and husband of Helen after Paris' death, who was killed by the Greeks when they took Troy. At the end of their conversation the mutilated spirit of Deiphobus urges Aeneas to "Make use of (or enjoy) better destinies (or fates)" than were mine. Deiphobus is, of course, wishing Aeneas better luck than he had and urging him to make good use of his happier destiny—an altogether appropriate injunction alluding to both Aeneas' and Britain's success in founding an empire destined to rule the world. The quotation has the virtue of being literary, learned, and filled with that special brand of Virgilian pathos that has proved popular through the ages. (I am greatly indebted to Professor John Douglas Minyard, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, for his identification and elucidation of this and subsequent classical Latin quotations.)

⁸Shelburne Papers, Vol. 48, 227-228: William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

⁹Ovid, *Fasti*, Book 1, verse 712. Ovid's *Fasti* is a poetic almanac of the Roman year, and the verse cited refers to January 30, the anniversary of Augustus' dedication of his Altar of Peace in celebration of his bringing peace to the whole world. Ovid's line, "Peace, may you be present and abide gentle in the whole world," is a tribute to the success of Roman arms and a most suitable tribute to the worldwide victories of Great Britain in the Seven Years War.

colony for which they were intended. That for East Florida, for instance, with its fortified town and harbor, clearly pointed to St. Augustine whose walls had long defied British conquest. As neither Pensacola nor Mobile had prospered greatly under Spanish and French rule, the pious wish that they might enjoy greater prosperity under the government of Great Britain was more relevant than a general prayer for peace.

Christopher Seaton, who had only recently succeeded to the office of Chief Engraver of Seals,¹⁰ went to work directly. It seems likely that the West Florida seal was the first he produced as Master Engraver. On December 21, 1763, the Privy Council approved his drafts of all four seals and ordered them to be engraved.¹¹ Seaton's metalwork was completed by April 10, 1764, when he submitted to the Treasury his statement "For a double Seal for the Province of West Florida," the one side as specified above, "and on the Reverse, His Majesty's Arms, Crown, Garter Supporters & Motto," with the circumferential inscription "Geo. III Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae, Rex Fidei defensor, Brunswici, et Luneburgi, Dux Sacri Romani Imperij, Archi Thesaurarius et Elector."

Chief Engraver Seaton billed the Treasury £60 for his labor and added "for the Silver weighing 52 oz. 6 dwt. at 5 shg & 5 d. p. ounce — £14.3s.3d." A shagreen case in which to keep the seal was charged at £1.5.0.¹² The Privy Council approved Seaton's work on April 11,¹³ but not until December 14 did it certify that the new silver seals had been delivered to His Majesty in Council by the Chief Engraver and that His Majesty had been pleased to have them transmitted to the respective Governors.¹⁴ In fact, George Johnstone undoubtedly took possession of the West Florida seal shortly before he

¹⁰John S. Tanner held the post as late as March 30, 1962. Record Books, MINT 1/11: 133-134, 201-202, Public Record Office, London.

¹¹*Acts of the Privy Council*, 574. It was probably at this point in the process that the engraver improved upon his instructions and inserted the letters PR before the abbreviation El (Elector). The usage was customary on royal seals at this date and would have been more familiar to a Mint engraver than to the members of the Board of Trade.

¹²MINT 1/12: 29.

¹³*Acts of the Privy Council*, 573.

¹⁴MINT 1/12: 30-31.

sailed for Pensacola early in June 1764.¹⁵

After the Christmas holiday, on January 10, 1765, Treasury Secretary Thomas Whately wrote to the Mint, enclosing Seaton's account and asking the Commissioners' opinion thereon.¹⁶ The Commissioners of the Mint vouched that the seals, including that for West Florida, were "near Equal in Size and Workmanship with those made by former Engravers for the Same uses," and that Seaton's prices were indeed reasonable. His bill was accordingly approved for payment on January 28, 1765.¹⁷

Seaton was certainly kept busy at this period, for in addition to creating original seals for the new colonies of West and East Florida, Quebec, and Grenada, he was also required to make new seals for Ireland, Scotland, and various great offices of state and courts of law.¹⁸ The seal of East Florida followed quickly on the heels of that for West Florida. On April 17, 1764, Seaton submitted "a double Seal for East Florida on the one Side a Representation of a Fortified Town and Harbour, with this Motto or Legend underneath 'Moresque Viris et Menia ponet' [He will set up customs and walls for his warriors]¹⁹ and this Inscription round the Circumference 'Sigillum Provinciae Floridae Orientalis.'" The reverse was the same as that of the West Florida seal. The engraver's basic charge for the East Florida seal was again L60 (he would charge L70 each for the seals of Quebec and Grenada), but the East Florida seal

¹⁵See Robin F. A. Fabel, "George Johnstone, 1730-1787," Ph.D. dissertation, Auburn University, 1974, shortly to be published as *Bombast and Broadides: The Lives of George Johnstone* by the Troy State University Press.

¹⁶MINT 1/12: 28.

¹⁷MINT 1/12: 31.

¹⁸*Acts of the Privy Council*, 82ff.

¹⁹Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 1, verse 264. The classical phrase is "moresque viris et moenia ponet;" the spelling "menia" is late, but common enough in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and the Latin writings of later centuries. The quotation is from Jupiter's assurance to Venus that her son Aeneas will not suffer destruction at the vengeful hands of Juno. The god smiles and tells Venus not to worry, that Aeneas "will wage a vast war in Italy, will grind up savage peoples into little pieces, and will set up customs and walls for his warriors"—the customs being the inner defenses of a society, the walls its external defenses. This is one of the most famous speeches in the *Aeneid*, surely one drummed (or caned) into every English schoolboy and future motto-maker in the eighteenth century, and marvellously apt for a generation of Englishmen who, like Aeneas, were crossing the seas to create a new empire.

contained just over an ounce more silver and consequently cost 5s. 8d. more than that for West Florida.²⁰ This seal was duly accepted and approved on April 25, 1764.²¹ A single unique and closely guarded example of the East Florida seal may be found (but not readily seen) at the Public Record Office; its details have, unhappily, all but disappeared.

Today the seal of British West Florida is of purely antiquarian interest, but the mystery of its appearance — and disappearance — and the obvious value of a surviving example should inspire future searches and perhaps the discovery of a truly rare historical artifact.

²⁰ MINT 1/12: 29.

²¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 574.

Paper on Haiti

POLITICS AS ART: "THE CONQUERED ROOSTER"

by

William Warren Rogers

In the last twenty years there has developed a vast and still increasing corpus of historical writing on the period of Reconstruction. This much needed literature has centered more emphasis on economic and social developments, and the many subheadings under those broad areas, than on the traditional topic of politics. It may be that by now the balance has been redressed. The need for studies of blacks, scalawags, carpetbaggers, and that amorphous collection emerging as post-war Democrats has been and is being answered by young scholars. In-depth studies of railroads, industrial development, and agricultural distress all demand and are receiving attention. Religion and education during the period more than merit careful monographs.

Even so, it was political warfare that dramatized Reconstruction. It was the battle for ballots that gave focus and immediacy to the swirl of events. A candidate was real. One either detested him or was devoted to him, voted for him or voted against him. Not only did a voter identify with a candidate, he identified with the candidate's party, and that brought into play a set of emotions and convictions that gave politics its particular intensity, and, quite often, its bitterness.

In Alabama and the South few periods could match the era of Reconstruction for partisan politics. The only comparable period would be the 1890s when the Populist revolt shook the foundations of the Democratic party. Yet even the agrarian rebellion had little of the sustained violence that was endemic to Reconstruction. With the sides arrayed against each other with such fervor, it is not surprising that victory was cherished and reveled in or that defeat was feared and hated. A winner did not congratulate his vanquished foe for having fought a courageous but losing fight. Instead, the conqueror taunted and reviled his opponent.

The Presidential election of 1868 saw the Republican party

sweep Alabama as Ulysses S. Grant defeated the Democratic candidate, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. The prospect and then the fact of Grant's election appalled Joseph Hodgson, editor of the powerful *Montgomery Mail*. As a staunch Democrat, Hodgson had issued sulphuric editorials against the party of Lincoln and all of its candidates from top to bottom. Counter arguments ensued quickly from the *Alabama State Journal*, also published at Montgomery, the official spokesman for the Republican party. The *Journal's* fulminations cast Democrats in traitors's roles, and, at best, doubted that they were fit to consort with civilized people.

When the Republicans won they celebrated with bonfires and parades, and, conversely, the Democrats went into mourning. A few days after the results were known, a poem entitled "The Conquered Rooster" appeared in the *Alabama State Journal*. That paper's issue of November 11, carried the scurrilous cry of triumph over the proud rooster, defiantly pictured at the head of the Democratic ballot as the party's symbol. The author was never identified beyond the *nom de plume* of "Scholasticus."

A biting satire on Abram Joseph Ryan's "The Conquered Banner," the poem specifically singled out Editor Hodgson for ridicule. Hodgson — a lawyer and former colonel of the 7th Alabama, as well as a respected editor — was less than flattered. To parody "The Conquered Banner" was considered particularly clever or unjust, depending on one's point of view. The Virginia-born Catholic priest had written his celebrated poem shortly after learning of General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. Father Ryan was later in charge of Saint Mary's Church in Mobile. Full of melancholy and resignation, "The Conquered Banner" was Father Ryan's romantic paeon to the lost cause. For many Southerners the poem expressed their feelings of defeat no less than the song "Dixie" had fired their optimism in 1861. To Montgomerians "The Conquered Rooster" was no less than a sadistic assault. Hodgson was not the only citizen of the Cradle of the Confederacy who wanted to know the author's real name.

Viewed from the perspective of over one hundred years, the poem remains vindictive, but its harsh edge is tempered by wit. If the rhymes are strained and hurried, they are no worse than Father Ryan's were. "The Conquered Rooster" was

a bit of brilliant political doggerel that makes today's efforts seem awkward and cumbersome by comparison. The poem by "Scholasticus" remains interesting in itself, and, equally important, is an excellent example of politics raised to a sophisticated, but no less personal, level. Angry Montgomery Democrats probably gave begrudging admiration for the poem that told them to.

THE CONQUERED ROOSTER

Coop that Rooster, for he's weary!
And his head is drooping dreary!
Coop him, hide him, it is best,
For there's not a chick to fear him
And there's not a hen to cheer him,
And there is no egg laid near him —
Scorned by those who did revere him
Hide him — coop him — let him rest.

Take that Rooster off, he's tattered,
All his feathers widely scattered,
And his bill is broken, battered
By the strong blows of the foe.
Oh! 'tis hard for us to hide him,
We who so fondly eyed him —
Hard to stand forlorn beside him
Now that he no more can crow.

Coop that Rooster, for he's gasping,
And his toes each other claspings,
Quiver with the fearful rasping
He received on Tuesday last!
For the hearts that did adore him,
And the hands that upward bore him,
And the feet that ran before him,
Join the ranks of those that tore him,
Those that cut the Rooster's comb!

Coop that Rooster -- coop him sadly,
Once ten thousand backed him gladly,
And ten thousand wildly, madly,
Swore he should forever crow.

Swore that hostile spur should never
His triumphant wind-pipe sever,
And that he shou'd fight forever!
But now he is lying low!

Oh! his comb is cut and bloody,
And his legs are bruised and muddy,
And his breast with blood is ruddy,
And his gills are darkly blue;
Empty craw and bursted gizzard
Tail and wings completely scissored,
Felled at one decisive blizzard —
Routed — skinned from A to Izzard —
O, poor cock-a-doodle-doo .

Now, friend Hodgson, quit your blowing,
And no more attempt such throwing,
As you very well are knowing,
Dust in Democratic eyes.
Coop your Rooster, he is played out,
Your Salt River ticket's made out
So be quiet, prepared to wade out
Trouble us no more with lies.

The C. S. were dead and buried
When from U. S. Grant, Lee hurried
Troubled much in mind and worried,
On the Appomattox's shore.
Give us peace, the people pray it,
GRANT is peace, the people say it,
Let no rebel dare gainsay it,
Lie and kill and slay no more.

REGISTER OF LAWYERS, UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT FOR MIDDLE DISTRICT OF
ALABAMA FOR PERIOD OF ABOUT 1835-1866

by

J. Mills Thornton, III

United States judges in ante-bellum Alabama. In the territorial period, Alabama's United States Judge was Harry Toulmin (1766-1824), whose district was at first all of the Mississippi Territory east of the Pearl River, but after the admission of Mississippi to the Union, became only the Alabama Territory. Judge Toulmin's grandson also became a federal judge; he presided over the Southern district court at Mobile from 1886 to 1916.

Upon the admission of Alabama to the Union, Judge Toulmin's territorial court was abolished, and he was unsuccessful in obtaining appointment as federal district judge. Alabama's first federal district judge was Charles Tait (1768-1835), a former United States senator from Georgia who served as federal district judge from 1819 to 1826, when he resigned. He was succeeded by William Crawford (1784-1849), a part-time lawyer whose principal occupation was president of the St. Stephens Bank. Judge Crawford served until his death, and was succeeded by John Gayle (1792-1859).

Gayle had served as governor from 1831 to 1835; his administration had been marked by a violent collision with the federal government over his efforts to take the lands of the Creek Indians for white settlers. Gayle also had served a term in Congress from 1847 to 1849. On his death, Gayle was succeeded by a Mobile attorney, William Giles Jones (1808-1883). Judge Jones served as United States district judge until Alabama seceded from the Union in 1861 and was then appointed Confederate district judge. He served until 1865, when he was arrested and charged with treason. He was, however, relieved of prosecution by the Amnesty Act, and thereafter practiced law in Mobile until his death.

In the meantime, President Lincoln appointed George W.

Lane (1806-1864) of Athens to the United States district judgeship which Jones had vacated. Judge Lane was sworn in, but was never able to exercise the functions of his office. On Lane's death, Lincoln appointed Richard Busteed (1822-1898) of New York City. Busteed, a lawyer and Methodist minister, had served as corporation counsel (city attorney) of New York City from 1856 to 1859. He entered Alabama with the advancing federal armies, and served as federal judge until 1874. In that year the Democrats regained control of the state government, and petitioned Congress to impeach Judge Busteed, alleging corruption in office. Busteed thereupon resigned and returned to New York City, where he practiced law until his death.

Given the fact that Alabama was an overwhelmingly Democratic state in the ante-bellum period, it is interesting to note that all of the state's federal district judges were Whigs or, before the organization of the party, men with markedly whiggish attitudes. Ironically, only the carpetbagger Judge Busteed could claim to have been a staunch Democrat before the Civil War. Since the Whig party was generally urban and commercial in its outlook, the partisan sympathies of the judges are not insignificant. Democratic judges often reflected their party's rural, anti-corporation bias, while Whigs were usually friendly to business.

Federal courts in ante-bellum Alabama. During the ante-bellum period, as now, Alabama was divided into three districts for federal court purposes. The Northern District sat at Huntsville and the Southern District at Mobile. The Middle District sat at the state capital: at Cahaba from 1820 to 1826, at Tuscaloosa from 1827 to 1847, and at Montgomery thereafter. Each district had its own United States attorney and its own clerk. But the single federal judge in the state held court in all three districts.

He was assisted in his duties by the associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court with responsibility for the Gulf states, who rode circuit when the Supreme Court was not in session and held special terms of the district courts to aid the district judges in clearing their calendars. During most of the ante-bellum years that justice was an Alabamian. John McKinley

(1780-1852) of Florence, who had represented Alabama in both the United States House and the United States Senate, was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1837 by President Van Buren, and served until his death. He was succeeded by John Archibald Campbell (1811-1889) of Mobile, who served until Alabama's secession in 1861. After the Civil War, Justice Campbell practiced law in New Orleans, where he became one of the nation's most distinguished attorneys. His brief for the plaintiffs in the Slaughterhouse Cases first suggested the doctrine of substantive due process as it related to the Fourteenth Amendment.

State courts in ante-bellum Alabama. In the early years of Alabama's statehood, the state judiciary consisted only of the five — after 1821, six — circuit judges. Each year, the six met together at the capital and heard appeals as a Supreme Court. In 1828 a seventh circuit judge was added, in 1833 an eighth, and in 1836 a ninth. In 1832, however, the functions of the Supreme Court were vested in a separate body, consisting of three justices. In 1839 the circuit courts were stripped of all equity jurisdiction, and equity cases were transferred to chancery courts. The state was divided into three chancery divisions, each headed by a chancellor. In 1851 the Supreme Court was increased to five members, but in 1854 it was reduced again to three. After the Civil War the number of circuit judges was increased to twelve and the number of chancellors to five, but the Supreme Court continued to have only three justices. Even in the state courts in the ante-bellum period a surprisingly large number of the judges were Whigs. But Democrats had much more effective representation of their views here than in the federal courts.

Below the circuit court until 1850 was the county court. The judge of the county court had common law jurisdiction, and also served as the fifth member and president of the county commission. In 1850 this office was abolished and replaced with a probate judge with appropriately diminished jurisdiction. The probate judge continued to serve as president of the county commission, however.

Also in 1850 the election of circuit and probate judges was given to the people. Before 1850 all judicial officers and

prosecutors, and after 1850 all justices of the Supreme Court, chancellors and circuit solicitors, were elected by the legislature meeting in joint session. A majority of the votes was necessary to a choice, so that the elections were frequently multi-ballot affairs. Until 1830 state judges were elected for life, but thereafter their term was set at six years. After 1867, all state judges at every level were elected by the people.

Before the Civil War there was no separate office of attorney general. Each circuit had its solicitor, and the circuit solicitor of the circuit which contained the capital was the attorney general. After 1867 the office of circuit solicitor was abolished and replaced with a county solicitor in each county and a separate office of state attorney general.

Register of lawyers. The register of lawyers admitted to practice before the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama contains the names of 128 men who signed before the Civil War. After the Civil War, all lawyers evidently were asked to re-sign the register, as a great number of the lawyers who had been admitted in the ante-bellum period signed again in the years between 1866 and 1869. The earliest signature on the roll may be dated to about 1835. In 1845 there were 664 practicing lawyers in Alabama, of whom some 447 resided in counties presumably within the Middle District. Since at least 21 of the 128 signed the roll after 1855, it is fair to say that no more than a fourth of the lawyers eligible to seek to practice in federal court had actually taken the trouble to apply in the ante-bellum years. This figure may be taken as a rough index to the relative importance of the federal and state courts in the period.

Each lawyer who signed the roll is listed below, together with a few comments on those whom the author was able to identify. The signature is given as it appears on the roll, and where possible, the full name is given immediately following. An alphabetical list of each lawyer whose signature was legible is attached as an appendix.

WM. M. MURPHY (1806-1855). William Mitchell Murphy, a well-known Greene County lawyer; admitted to bar 1828; partner for a time of William Giles Jones, *infra*; state legislator;

unsuccessful candidate for Congress as a Whig.

SION L. PERRY (1793-). First lawyer to settle within town limits of Tuscaloosa; law partner of Henry W. Collier, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Alabama and Governor from 1849-53; state legislator, circuit judge and justice of Alabama Supreme Court; after serving as circuit judge from 1827-1833, he devoted his time to agriculture.

BENJAMIN N. GLOVER (-). From Marengo County; circuit solicitor in 1830's.

H. W. ELLIS (-1842). Harvey W. Ellis, State Senator from Tuscaloosa County; attorney for Bank of Alabama; law partner of Chief Justice E. Wolsey Peck, *infra*, and later of John D. Phelan, *infra*.

J. R. METCALF (-). Jacob R. Metcalf, from Gainesville, Sumter County.

JON^N BLISS (1799-1879). Jonathan Bliss, from Sumter County; law partner of Joseph Glover Baldwin, author of *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi*; later Chief Justice of California.

W. H. SMITH (1828-). Perhaps, but doubtful, William Hugh Smith, who was licensed to practice law in 1850. From 1855 to 1859 he represented Randolph County in the legislature as a Democrat. During Reconstruction, he was elected Governor in 1868 as a Republican, and defeated for that office in 1870 by Robert B. Lindsay, Democrat.

JAMES HAIR (-). From Livingston, Sumter County.
A. B. MEEK (1814-1865). Alexander Beaufort Meek, who was the author of the Public Schools Act of 1853 and an extremely prominent politician; state attorney general; probate judge; state legislator; U.S. attorney for Southern District of Alabama; appointed assistant secretary of the Treasury in 1845 by President Polk; before his appointment to Treasury, he resided in Tuscaloosa County and afterward in Mobile County.

S. W. INGE (1817-1868). Samuel Williams Inge from Sumter

County; state legislator and U.S. Congressman; moved to California and became U.S. Attorney there in 1853; nephew of William M. Inge, *infra*.

JEREMIAH CLEMENS (1814-1865). Admitted to the bar in 1834, U.S. Attorney for Northern and Middle Districts of Alabama; state legislator from Madison County; U.S. Senator (1849-53); delegate to Secession Convention from Madison County; a Democrat until mid-1850's, then a Know-Nothing and later a republican. [Roll signed as "district attorney," thus dating his signing to 1838]

LINCOLN CLARK (1800-1886). Law partner of Chief Justice E. Wolsey Peck in Tuscaloosa; state attorney general and circuit judge; later moved to Iowa and represented it in Congress.

JNO. D. PHELAN (1810-1879). John D. Phelan from Montgomery County; prominent attorney, state legislator (speaker of the house); circuit judge, attorney general (1836); member of the Alabama Supreme Court, professor of law at Sewanee.

B. F. PORTER (1808-1868). Benjamin Faneuil Porter from Tuscaloosa; state legislator and circuit judge; in the legislature he was principally responsible for securing abolition of imprisonment for debt and was a prominent advocate of a public school system and of women's rights; later president of Wills Valley Railroad.

ROBT. M. GARVIN (-). Robert M. Garvin, from Tuscaloosa County.

WILLIAM COCHRAN (-). Tuscaloosa lawyer, born in New York, came to Alabama in 1837; was a director of Bank of Alabama at Tuscaloosa.

J. M. WITHERS (1814-1891). Jones M. Withers, Mayor of Mobile, state legislator and General in the Confederate Army; a brother-in-law to United States Senator Clement Comer Clay.

S. G. FRIERSON (1805-1857). Samuel G. Frierson, state legislator from Tuscaloosa County, State Treasurer of Alabama (1840-46); convicted of stealing money from the State Treasury.

ROBT. T. CLYDE (-). Robert T. Clyde, lawyer from Tuscaloosa County.

W. R. Smith (1815-1896). William Russell Smith, Mayor of Tuscaloosa; United States Congressman from Alabama (1851-1857); delegate to the Secession Convention from Tuscaloosa; Confederate congressman (1861-1865); president of University of Alabama (1870-1871).

W. MOODY (1806-1879). Washington Moody, Tuscaloosa lawyer and president of First National Bank of Tuscaloosa.

J. L. MARTIN (1799-1866). Joshua Lanier Martin, State legislator from Limestone and Tuscaloosa Counties, circuit solicitor; circuit judge; chancellor; U. S. Congressman; and governor of Alabama (1845-7).

JAMES CHESTNEY (-).

ROBT. H. SMITH (1814-18). Robert Hardy Smith, Whig State legislator from Sumter County; moved to Mobile to practice law in 1853; a delegate to the Confederate Provisional Congress from Alabama (1861).

JOHN T. LEFTWICH (-). Lawyer from Dadeville, Tallapoosa County.

HENRY WATSON (-). Lawyer from Greensboro, then in Greene County, but since 1867 in Hale County.

Ro. E. MEADE (-). Robert E. Meade.

W. K. BAYLOR (1800-1845). Walker K. Baylor, State representative and senator from Jefferson County, circuit judge; a brother of Alabama congressman R. E. B. Baylor, founder of Baylor University.

WILLIAM H. GREEN (-). William Harrison Green, lawyer from Livingston, Sumter County.

THOS. A. WALKER (1811-1888). Thomas A. Walker, State legislator from Calhoun (formerly Benton) County; president of state Senate during Civil War; circuit judge; and president of Selma, Rome and Dalton Railroad.

JOS. J. PORTER (-). Joseph J. Porter.

JNO. H. LINEBAUGH (-). John H. Linebaugh.

J. COCHRAN (-). John Cochran from Eufaula, a southern rights man and unsuccessful candidate of the Southern Rights Party for Congress in 1851; state legislator from Benton (now Calhoun) County and later Barbour County; circuit judge during Civil War; delegate to Secession Convention from Barbour County.

J. M. BOLING (-1850). James M. Boling, state legislator from Conecuh; married daughter of Reuben Saffold, Chief Justice of Alabama Supreme Court; died in Lowndes County after practicing law there with distinction.

WM. G. JONES (1808-1883). William Giles Jones, law partner of Wm. M. Murphy, *supra*; United States District Judge for Alabama, 1859-61 and Confederate district judge, 1861-65; state legislator from Greene (1843) and later from Mobile (1849 and 1857); a Whig.

JAMES B. WALLACE (1800-1855). Newspaper editor; state senator from Lawrence County from 1834 to 1838 then resigned to accept office of clerk of Alabama Supreme Court to succeed Judge Minor; represented Tuscaloosa County in legislature in 1851.

WM. M. INGE (1802-1842). William M. Inge represented Tennessee in Congress (1833-1835), moved to Sumter County in 1836; uncle of Wm. M. Murphy, *supra* and S. W. Inge, *supra*.

JAMES D. WEBB (1818-1863). State legislator from Greene County and delegate to Secession Convention from Greene; Confederate general, killed in Civil War.

E. W. PECK (1799-1888). E. Wolsey Peck, Tuscaloosa lawyer; chancellor; president of the Constitutional Convention of 1867;

leading scalawag, Chief Justice of Alabama Supreme Court (1868-73).

JNO. ERWIN (1799-1860). John Erwin, from Greensboro, a prominent politician; state legislator; speaker of the house and president of the senate; chairman of Democratic National Convention of 1852 and of Constitutional Democratic Convention of 1860.

HIRAM HEMPHILL (-). Admitted to Georgia Bar in 1829 along with John A. Campbell, who later became an Associate Justice of United States Supreme Court; practiced law in Eufaula.

B. W. HUNTINGTON (1817-). Backus W. Huntington, state legislator from Tuscaloosa; circuit judge in Sumter County, resigned that position in 1853 to practice law in New York City.

JOHN M. CAMERON (-).

W. J. STEELE (-). From Gainesville, Sumter County.

JAMES E. BELSER (1805-1859). Editor of *Montgomery Advertiser*, circuit solicitor, state legislator, United States congressman (1843-45).

ISAAC W. HAYNE (-). Isaac Walton Hayne, from South Carolina; subsequently became State Attorney General in South Carolina, but for a brief period lived in Montgomery.

JOHN P. GRAHAM (-).

HARRISON W. COVINGTON (-). From Sumter County; a law partner of Judge Turner Reavis, *infra*.

ALEXANDER GRAHAM (-). Prominent lawyer from Greene County; law partner of Stephen F. Hale, *infra*.

WALTER L. COLEMAN (1813-1879). Mayor of Montgomery and register in chancery.

D. C. ANDERSON (-). Decatur C. Anderson, state legislator from Marengo County (1843); circuit solicitor in Mobile (1851-55) and thereafter practiced law in Mobile.

JOSEPH A. S. ACKLEN (1816-1863). Grandson of John Hunt, for whom Huntsville is named; was a major sugar planter in Louisiana, but resided in Huntsville; was the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama (1839-1849); one of the wealthiest men in America. (Signed roll as "district attorney.")

JAMES E. REESE (1802-1876). Lawyer from LaFayette, Chambers County; represented Chambers in state Senate (1842-1844) as a Whig.

THOS. S. MAYS (1806-1853). Thomas Sumter Mays, Montgomery lawyer and very prominent member of the Nullification-Southern Rights group; state legislator, probate judge, editor of the *Alabama Journal*.

LEROY GRESHAM (-). Tallapoosa County lawyer; state representative (1841-1842) and county court judge.

A. B. CLITHERALL (1820-1869). Alexander B. Clitherall from Pickens County; prominent lawyer in West Alabama; leader of the prohibitionists in Alabama in the 1850s and a political associate of Governor John A. Winston; state legislator and probate judge; temporary private secretary to Jefferson Davis while Confederate capital in Montgomery.

_____ (-). Illegible signature (perhaps Godfrey L. Smith).

SAMPSON W. HARRIS (1814-1857). Wetumpka lawyer, circuit solicitor (1841-1844), state legislator, U. S. congressman (1847-57).

JNO. G. STEINER (-). John G. Steiner, lawyer from LaFayette, Chambers County.

_____ (-). Illegible signature (perhaps J. C. Finney).

WM. S. MUDD (1816-1884). William S. Mudd, from Jefferson County; state legislator; circuit solicitor, circuit judge; unsuccessful candidate for Congress, 1851; one of the founders of Birmingham and a prominent capitalist after the Civil War.

S. F. HALE (1816-1862). Stephen F. Hale, from Greene County; the man for whom Hale County was named in 1867; a prominent southern rights Whig in West Alabama, state legislator; delegate to Confederate Provisional Congress; colonel in Confederate Army; killed in Civil War.

H. P. DOUTHITT (-). Herbert P. Douthitt, lawyer from Tuscaloosa.

GEO. W. L. SMITH (-). (entered as "Mississippi")

NEWTON L. WHITFIELD (1810-). From Tuscaloosa; in 1858 abandoned practice of law to accept Presidency of the Northeast and Southwest Alabama Railroad; one of the two state legislators who voted against calling the Secession Convention.

ALEX. GRAHAM (-). Lawyer from Marion, Perry County.

W. W. MORRIS (-). William W. Morris, represented Coosa County in legislature (1837-1838 and 1840); moved to Texas and became a circuit judge there.

SAMUEL H. BRODIE (-).

JOHN G. BARR (1823-1858). John Gorman Barr from Tuscaloosa; prominent humorist; served in Mexican War; appointed United States consul at Melbourne, Australia, by President Buchanan, but died on the voyage out to take up his post.

JOSEPH W. TAYLOR (1820-). Read law in office of Harry I. Thornton, *infra*; state legislator from Greene County; newspaper editor; law partner of S. F. Hale, *supra*; prominent Unionist Whig.

T. REAVIS (1812-1872). Turner Reavis from Sumter County;

law partner of Harrison W. Covington, *supra*; a southern rights Whig, circuit judge, state legislator during Civil War.

OLIVER H. PRINCE (-). Lawyer from Demopolis.

B. J. WHATLEY (-).

JOSEPH R. JOHN (1814-1889). Represented Perry County in legislature; moved then to Dallas and became mayor of Selma (1862) and later chancellor of middle division.

M. A. BALDWIN (1813-1865). Marion A. Baldwin, circuit solicitor of Montgomery circuit (1843-7) and attorney general of Alabama (1847-65).

J. J. SEIBELS (1816-1865). John Jacob Seibels, admitted to South Carolina Bar in 1837; editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* in the early 1850s and subsequently U. S. Minister to Belgium (1853-1856); served in Civil War as Colonel, Sixth Alabama Infantry.

H. B. JONES (? , signature unclear).

H. N. CRAWFORD (-1855). Hugh N. Crawford, represented Barbour County in House; after Montgomery became capital, he changed his residence from Eufaula to Montgomery to practice law.

JACK THORINGTON (1810-1871). A prominent Montgomery lawyer and businessman; law partner prior to Civil War of Henry W. Hilliard, a Whig and leading anti-secessionist; second mayor of Montgomery after its incorporation (1839-1840); served during the Civil War as a Colonel in command of Hilliard's Legion; after Civil War, he was a law partner of William P. Chilton, *infra*.

N. HARRIS (-). Nathan Harris, Montgomery lawyer.
J. J. ORMOND (1795-1866). John J. Ormond, represented Lawrence County in legislature; a justice of Alabama Supreme Court, 1837-48; thereafter practiced law in Tuscaloosa; a leading Whig.

HARRY I. THORNTON (1797-1862). United States attorney under John Quincy Adams; justice of Alabama Supreme Court (1833-36), later state senator from Greene County; a leading Whig; appointed commissioner of lands in California in 1849 and died there.

HENRY C. SEMPLE (1822-1894). Henry Churchill Semple, Montgomery lawyer; Unionist and later Republican; delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1867.

CH. CROMMELIN (1800-1857). Charles Crommelin, well-known Montgomery lawyer and businessman; admitted to bar in 1833.

RUSH ELMORE (-1864). Montgomery lawyer who was appointed by President Pierce in 1854 as U. S. Judge of the Kansas Territory and moved to Kansas upon his appointment; commanded a company from Montgomery County during the Mexican War; brother of J. A. Elmore, *infra*; Elmore County was named for his father, General John Archer Elmore.

EDWIN W. SEIBELS (-).

R. A. COLCLOUGH (-). Richard A. Colclough, Montgomery lawyer.

N. SMITH GRAHAM (1818-1886). Tuskegee lawyer; represented Coosa County in legislature and became chancellor of the eastern division.

A. MARTIN (1798-). Abraham Martin, Montgomery lawyer; circuit judge 1836-42; law partner of M. A. Baldwin, *supra*.

J. L. PUGH (1819-1907). James Lawrence Pugh from Eufaula; law partner of John Cochran, *supra*; initially a southern rights Whig; United States congressman, 1859-61; Confederate congressman, 1862-65; delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1875; United States Senator, 1880-97.

G. W. GAYLE (1807-). George Washington Gayle, from Cahaba, Alabama; admitted to bar in 1832; was the single most

radical secessionist in the State; state legislator; United States attorney under President Van Buren.

LEWIS E. PARSONS (1817-1895). Lewis Elinphalet Parsons, the provisional Governor of Alabama, 1865, appointed by President Johnson; earlier a state legislator and U. S. attorney for the Northern District of Alabama; from Talladega.

J. A. ELMORE (1809-1878). John Archer Elmore, member of the prominent South Carolina family of the Elmores, brother of United States Senator Franklin Elmore of South Carolina and Rush Elmore, *supra*; law partner of William Lowndes Yancey, *infra*; state legislator; delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1865; Elmore County was named for his father General John Archer Elmore.

NATHANIEL W. COCKE (-). Montgomery lawyer; chancellor, 1861-67.

WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY (1814-1863). The secessionist; newspaper editor in Cahaba and Wetumpka; state legislator from Coosa; United States congressman (1844-46); delegate to Secession Convention from Montgomery; Confederate Senator (1862-63).

THOMAS J. JUDGE (1815-). Very prominent Montgomery Whig; state legislator; law partner of Governor Thomas Hill Watts, *infra*; unsuccessful candidate for Congress, 1857 and 1859; justice of Alabama Supreme Court, 1865-68 and 1874-76.

JAMES H. CLANTON (1827-1871). Montgomery lawyer; admitted to bar in 1850; Confederate general; chairman of state Democratic party during Reconstruction, killed in a duel in Knoxville, Tennessee and buried from State Capitol.

THOMAS H. WATTS (1819-1892). A prominent Montgomery Whig; state legislator; unsuccessful candidate for Congress, 1855; delegate to Secession Convention; Confederate attorney general (1862-63); governor of Alabama (1863-65); law partner of Thos. J. Judge, *supra*.

J. B. BIBB (1822-1869). Joseph B. Bibb, one of the Montgomery Bibb family; a colonel in Confederate Army.

B. F. SAFFOLD (1826-1889). Benjamin F. Saffold from Dallas County. His father, Reuben Saffold was Chief Justice of Alabama Supreme Court; he was a Justice of the State Supreme Court during Reconstruction; a scalawag and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1867.

SEABORN WILLIAMS (-). Lawyer from Tuskegee.

JOSHUA W. WILLIS (-). Tuskegee attorney (?)

ALLEN EILAND (-). Lawyer from Midway, Barbour County.

JNO. H. BARRETT (-). John H. Barrett.

JOHN GAYLE, JR. (1792-1859). Circuit solicitor; state legislator; circuit judge and a justice of Alabama Supreme Court; governor of Alabama (1831-5), United States congressman (1847-49), United States district judge for Alabama (1849-59).

JOHN DUNCAN (-).

BENJAMIN H. BAKER (1811-1864). Sheriff of, and State Representative from Russell County; represented Russell County in the Secession Convention.

E. J. FITZPATRICK (1828-1884). Elmore J. Fitzpatrick, son of Governor Benjamin Fitzpatrick; Montgomery circuit solicitor (1865-67).

THOMAS F. BUGBEE (-). Montgomery lawyer, son of the United States attorney during the Reconstruction. [signed roll of attorneys 1855]

R. T. JOHNSTON (-). Lawyer, Whig and state legislator from Pickens County. [signed roll of attorneys 1855]

JOHN W. A. SANFORD (1825-1913). Montgomery lawyer; admitted to bar in 1851; a secessionist, served as state attorney

general, 1865-67; 1871-78, was a delegate from Montgomery to the Constitutional Convention of 1901.

THOMAS G. CHILTON (1833-1860). Montgomery lawyer, son of William P. Chilton, *infra*.

JOSEPH E. P. FLOURNOY (-). Delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1875 from Coffee County.

WILLIAM M. BYRD (1819-1874). State legislator from Marengo County, chancellor of middle division, 1863-65, justice of Alabama Supreme Court, 1865-67.

WILLIAM B. CULP (-).

ROBT. F. LIGON (1823-1901). Robert F. Ligon, Montgomery lawyer; state legislator from Macon before Civil War; lieutenant governor, 1874-76; United States congressman, 1876-78; his son's home in Montgomery is now the governor's mansion.

WM. A. GUNTER (1834-1927). William Adams Gunter, Montgomery lawyer; admitted to Alabama bar in 1856; father of the man who was mayor of Montgomery during the first half of the twentieth century; his arguments induced the United States Supreme Court to accept the constitutionality of the Negro disfranchisement provisions of the Constitution of 1901, in the cases of *Giles v. Harris* and *Giles v. Teasley*.

LITTLEBERRY STRANGE (-). Delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1867 from Macon County; circuit judge.

MICHAEL L. WOODS (1833-). Prominent Montgomery lawyer; state legislator (1860); served in Civil War as Colonel, Nineteenth Alabama Infantry; after Civil War, he practiced law for a time in New York City as a partner of Joseph S. Winter, *infra*; his father-in-law was Albert James Pickett, author of *History of Alabama* (1851).

THOS. M. ARRINGTON (1829-1896). Thomas M. Arrington, Judge of Montgomery city court, 1865-67, 1880-96. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1849 and was admitted to Bar in 1852; moved to Montgomery in 1865; served

in Civil War as a Lt. Col., 31st Alabama Infantry Regiment.

ELIUS HULL (-). (? , signature unclear).

SAM R. BLAKE (-). Samuel R. Blake, planter, lawyer and state senator from Dalias County; moved to Texas in 1860.

VIRGIL S. MURPHEY (1837-1890). Montgomery lawyer; owner for a time of the Ordeman-Shaw House.

BENJAMIN F. BLOUNT (-).

JAMES T. NORMAN (1830-1895). Union Springs lawyer, state legislator, 1882-85; admitted to Georgia bar, 1849, removed to Alabama, 1857.

D. B. HOLLINQUIST (-).

W. W. SCREWS (1839-1913). W. Wallace Screws, read law under Thomas H. Watts, *supra*, and admitted to bar, 1859; officer in Hilliard's Legion; returned to Montgomery and became associated with *Advertiser*, where he worked until his death, for most of the time as editor; served also as Alabama secretary of state (1878-1882) and Montgomery Postmaster (1893-1897).

J. S. WINTER (1821-1895). Joseph S. Winter, Montgomery banker, businessman and unionist; president of Bank of St. Mary's; owner of Winter Iron Works and Winter Building (S.E. corner of Dexter Avenue and Court Street) from which telegram to fire on Fort Sumter was sent; admitted to bar in 1860; practiced law in New York City (with Michael L. Woods, *supra*) for five years after the Civil War, returning to Montgomery in 1870 upon his son's graduation from Columbia University Law School.

WM. C. MCQUEEN (-). William C. McQueen, Montgomery lawyer.

W. P. CHILTON, JR. (1838-1892). William P. Chilton, Jr., son of the man below; circuit solicitor for Montgomery.

W. P. CHILTON (1810-1871). William P. Chilton, state legislator from Talladega; associate justice of Alabama Supreme Court (1848-52) and chief justice (1852-56); state senator from Macon; delegate to Confederate Provisional Congress and Confederate congressman (1861-65); a leading Whig; Chilton County was named for him; after the Civil War, a law partner of Jack Thorington, *supra*. [signed roll, March 5, 1866]*

JACK THORINGTON. *Supra*. [signed roll, March 5, 1866]*

A. MARTIN. Abraham Martin, *supra*. [signed roll March 10, 1866]*

E. J. FITZPATRICK. Elmore J. Fitzpatrick, *supra*. [signed roll, March 23, 1866]*

* Many other prior signees resigned the roll of attorneys throughout early Reconstruction.

APPENDIX

JOSEPH A. S. ACKLEN
D. C. ANDERSON
THOS. M. ARRINGTON
BENJAMIN H. BAKER
M. A. BALDWIN
JOHN G. BARR
JNO. H. BARRETT
W. K. BAYLOR
JAMES E. BELSER
J. B. BIBB
SAM R. BLAKE
JON. BLISS
BENJAMIN F. BLOUNT
J. M. BOLING
SAMUEL H. BRODIE
THOMAS F. BUGBEE
WILLIAM M. BYRD
JOHN M. CAMERON
JAMES CHESTNEY
THOMAS G. CHILTON
W. P. CHILTON
W. P. CHILTON, JR.
JAMES H. CLANTON
LINCOLN CLARK
JEREMIAH CLEMENS
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WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY

BOOK REVIEW

Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, *Alabama: A Bicentennial History*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977. pp. xi, 189. \$8.95)

Alabamians regularly wish for a history of their state which will be accurate and readable, will include the story of blacks and whites, men and women, will serve as a college text, yet appeal to the amateur, and will survey the state's history from the 1500s to the 1970s. Perhaps it is time to realize that we are asking for too much. After a vacuum of years when no stab at state history was attempted, 1977 saw two surveys of Alabama appear in print. One of these is *Alabama: A Bicentennial History*.

Virginia Hamilton, chairman of the history department at the University of Alabama in Birmingham, has courageously attacked her assignment of producing in one year's time a study of her state in two hundred pages. The result is an impression of Alabama and Alabamians, not a history. The reader's dissatisfaction with her product probably comes from the fact that we hoped she somehow would find a way to transcend the limitations of her project; instead, she is confined by them.

Using a topical approach, the author focuses primarily on Alabamians, the people who made the history. She uses anecdotes and personalities to reflect the flavor of issues Alabamians believed to be important from 1819 to the present. Particular attention is paid to Alabamians of non-English origins, whose numbers and varieties are so great as may surprise many who presume Alabamians to be simply white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. However, in her effort to call attention to these elements which historians usually ignore, the author has given excessive weight to subjects of her own interest. The book is too heavy with discussion of Birmingham; the attention given the Alabama slave narratives (which the author had recently discovered) is out of proportion to the rest of the book; and the jacket cover would be more appropriate for a history of a Northern industrial state. For, as any

Alabamian knows, the city of Birmingham does not speak for the state of Alabama.

The strongest feature of the book is the section on black history, a subject usually given little attention in general studies of Alabama. She includes some searing accounts of life under slavery and sets her findings in the contexts of recent works on slavery. The study of blacks after the Civil War is well done and is particularly valuable in focusing on less well known black leaders in the state, since we all too often hear only of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver.

The volume tries especially hard to make history relevant, to relate the past to the present, and in large measure the effort succeeds. The photographs complement this intent, as pairs of photographs juxtapose the old and new of Alabama into a fine photographic essay.

Alabama: A Bicentennial History should have the wide general appeal for which it is intended. Hopefully, it will whet its reader's appetites for a deeper study of Alabama history and encourage historians to get on with the business of producing a *bona fide* history of Alabama.

Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins
The University of Alabama

Jack Temple Kirby. *Media Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1978. Pp. XVIII + 203 cloth \$9.95)

For those who have long suspected that someday America would lift their image of the South and find "made in New York and Hollywood" stamped on its bottom, the appearance of a book entitled *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* is a welcome event. Having read it, one hopes for more intensive examination of the topics Jack Temple Kirby has opened to discussion.

Kirby's book is entertaining and contains more than a few good ideas worth further exploration. The author's point of

departure — semiotics, the study of symbols — and his basic assumption that popular culture more profoundly affects historical consciousness than professional scholarship both deserve continued attention. His discussions of D.W. Griffin, Claude Bowers, picture books of the 1930's on the South, W. J. Cash, Kiyle Onstott (the author of *Mandingo* and *Drum*), William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, and Alex Haley's *Roots* are informative and perceptive. His concluding point that the apparent triumph of the "New South" in country music, television programs, and presidential politics signifies the national co-option of things southern calls for close examination of the southern heritage and lifestyle for those qualities deserving judicious preservation as most beneficial to the South and to the nation as a whole.

Still, the book lacks focus. Images of movies, television shows, advertising, scholarly works, country music, novels, and plays pulsate upon the reader in strobe light fashion. Kirby presents his material in general chronological order, but there is a great deal of skipping back and forth, rendered troublesome by the fact that the book has no clearly stated and consistently followed interpretative themes other than the by chapter title. These titles (and their general chronological periods) are: "Griffin, Dunning, and 'the Great Fact of Race'" (ca. 1900-1920); "Claude Bowers and the Establishment" (ca. 1920's); "The Embarrassing New South" and "The Grand Old South" (both ca. 1920's and 1930's); "The Visceral South" and "Dixie Mellow" (both ca. 1940's and 1950's); "The Devilish South" (ca. 1940's, 1950's and 1960's); "Dixie Redux and Demise" (ca. 1960's and 1970's); and "Roots and Plains" (an epilogue on Alex Haley's *Roots* and the election of Jimmy Carter as president).

The description is good, if uneven; the analysis not exactly weak, but certainly not sustained. Kirby recounts in detail the plots of Griffin's movies, the biases of Claude Bowers, the story lines of Thomas Nelson Page's and John Fox, Jr.'s novels, the plots and characters of numerous movies rerun on television, and the pros and cons of William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. Here too, receiving varying amounts of emphasis, are Faulkner, Stribling, Caldwell, Mencken, Frank Yerby, Kyle Onstott, W. J. Cash, *I'll Take My Stand*, William H.

Dunning, C. Vann Woodward, *Gone With The Wind*, Jimmy Rodgers, Richard Petty, Dizzy Dean, and numerous other manifestations of the southern image and style. Jazz is absent, as are periodicals, such as *Southern Living*. The media's treatment of the South comes through in kaleidoscopic fashion, but there is limited analysis of any single category of media impact in terms of extent of audience and influence, cause and effect on behavior in the South and elsewhere, and relationship to national political and social currents. Trends and turning points are hinted but not explicated.

The book is attractively designed; I caught only one typographical error (Sidney "Potier" on page 119). Mildly disconcerting is the fact that in placing footnotes at the end of the book those notes are labeled only by chapter number and not by chapter title. The latter is printed at the top of each page of the text, and it would simplify referring to the footnotes if the reader could find them at the back of the book under the heading of the particular chapter in which they are found.

Robert H. McKenzie
The University of Alabama

Bernard Knight, *Madoc, Prince of America*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1977. Pp. 189. \$7.95.)

This is an entertaining book which all good Alabamians and Welshmen, though normally an incongruous pairing, should find appealing. Founded on the legendary story of the twelfth century discovery by a Welsh prince, Professor Knight's work evokes an added aura of realism to the sense of regional pride which has been endemic in the heritage of both peoples. The setting for most of the story, which is highly reminiscent of Arthurian romance, is Wales. Here the author embellishes the scenario furnished by countless generations of bards, minstrels, and chroniclers into a full-blown description of late medieval Welsh society and politics, which impelled Prince Madoc on his epic-making voyage to the New World. By no means the least interesting aspect of this narrative is the author's inference that these ventures owed much to the recent infusion of Norse blood and technology to early Celtic society. Indeed the protagonist was purported to be a direct descendant, through his

great grandmother, of the Scandanavian kings of Dublin. As the reader eventually senses the approach of Madoc's vessel, the *Gwennan Gorn*, to landfall in Alabama the drama heightens and one becomes reflective of the earliest origins of European settlement in this area of the world. No doubt recent journeyings across the Atlantic in small craft, such as that by Thor Heyerdahl, have sharpened the imaginative endeavours of modern writers to speculate on the likelihood that such voyages by earlier peoples actually did take place. But the present account must necessarily qualify as fiction as the entire story is related in dialogue.

Yet this historical novel presumes a factual basis from Richard Deacon's recent monograph on *Madoc and the Discovery of America* which has allegedly "greatly restored credence to the legend." Whatever basis of fact there might be for the Madoc legend must necessarily stem from that earlier study. In a recent review article in this journal (Spring, 1968) Robert Rea, while admitting that Deacon had brought "a more 'constructive imagination' to the riddle of Prince Madoc than any previous writer on the subject," effectively questions the historicity of Deacon's account. Nevertheless one is tempted to admit upon reading these two important statements that the possibility of Madoc's expedition has been made more plausible, and where there is so much smoke there very well *might* be fire!

Unfortunately it is neither the veracity of Deacon's work nor the possibility of a successful Welsh voyage to America which forms the true basis for Bernard Knight's *Madoc, Prince of America*. Even the most dubious evidence sifted by Deacon, such as Joan Dane's "imaginative recreation of the Madoc story" derived from vague allusions by early Welsh poets, is accepted within question by Knight. Indeed Miss Dane's 1909 account, though self-admittedly fictional and rejected by Deacon, serves as the basis for the largest portion of Knight's account. Madoc's early relationship with his family, including his exile at birth, his return as a teenager to the court of his father, and especially his romance with the maidservant Annesta whom he married are all elaborations of earlier fabrications by Miss Dane. Consequently the cruel death of his wife, who was bludgeoned and burned by his nefarious half-brother Dafydd, and the outbreak

of sibling strife occasioned by the death of his father Owain Gwynedd, served as the tragic background behind Madoc's voyage to America. For the remainder of his tale the author relies mainly on his own imagination, endowing the Welsh seaman with a compass to aid in his quest of western lands, and hindering him with a hurricane which blew his ship off course into the northern Gulf of Mexico and a mutiny staged by a malevolent figure named Alun Crookeye. Odysseus could hardly have deserved a more fantastic adventure!

The ultimate result of Knight's story then is a further incrustation of the legend perpetuated by so many earlier accounts and a verification of Professor Rea's aphorism that "Madoc's oft-told tale improves with repetition." If indeed Richard Deacon's book advances history as distinct from legend, this novel most assuredly does not. Such accounts, however specious, should not be spurned as our society needs good myths to stir its collective imagination; but modern man must always be able to distinguish the facts underlying his societal origins from fiction.

John D. Fair

Auburn University at Montgomery

David R. Goldfield, *Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism: Virginia, 1847-1861*. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. Pp. xxx, 336, \$17.50.)

Within the past three or four years a group of young ur-

ban historians has begun to go through the field of Southern history the way Sherman once marched through Georgia. This time, however, cities have been resurrected rather than destroyed, the chief targets of destruction being the myths and stereotypes of an agrarian South allegedly antithetical to urban development. At first the weapons were convention papers and journal articles, but now we are getting the heavy artillery in the form of monographs and even a textbook-like collection of essays entitled *The City in Southern History*. David Goldfield co-edited that anthology, and, like his co-editor Blaine Brownell, has become a major proselytizer of the importance of Southern cities. The list of converts now includes LSU Press,

perhaps the premier publisher of books in Southern history, which in recent years has produced an increasing number of able monographs that focus on the Southern urban experience. Goldfield's new book is an excellent addition to this growing list.

In a typical well-turned phrase, Goldfield announces that "It is time to place the magnolias on Main Street and to develop an urban view of southern history." (283) He is particularly interested in challenging two assumptions about antebellum Virginia cities in particular and Southern cities in general: first, that they seriously lagged behind those of the North, and second, that they played a relatively insignificant role in Southern life. At the heart of the book is the interrelationship between sectionalism and urban growth.

A perceptive introduction, distinguished by a good review of the secondary literature on antebellum Northern and Southern cities, provides an excellent overview of the role of urbanization in Southern life. Chapter 1 shows how a declining Virginia turned to its cities after 1847 to restore its economic and political power in the section and nation. Chapter 2 presents a profile of "city builders" in Richmond, Norfolk, and Alexandria. Using the techniques of both quantitative and "impressionistic" history, Goldfield finds that Virginia's urban boosters conformed to the general pattern found in other American cities of the period — they "were mature, stable members of the community . . . typically family men and property holders" who "formed an interlocking directorate to control most aspects of urban life from government to business to church to charity." (29-30) Chapter 3 chronicles the attempts of these city builders to secure a broad rural clientele through the use of the urban press, fairs, boards of trade, exchanges, and improved marketing facilities. Chapter 4 deals with the emergence of local government and the nature of urban services such as police, fire protection, education, and disease control. Chapter 5 explores the concept of "cityhood" as it related to the growing distinctiveness of city and countryside and to the phenomenon of urban rivalry. Chapter 6 masterfully draws together the strands from previous chapters to examine the contribution of urban Virginia to the growing sectional crisis and the coming of the Civil War. As a result of urban Vir-

ginia's late entrance into the arena of urban rivalry and especially of New York City's emergence as the nation's foremost import/export center, the attempts at internal improvements, direct trade, and industrialization that would re-establish Virginia's power fell far short of their goal. Or as Goldfield put it, "In a section where ironies grew like cotton in black soil, it was Virginia's irony that urban growth and prosperity resulted in greater dependence on northern cities rather than in the hoped-for economic independence." (226) The economic failure of Virginia to compete with the North, according to Goldfield, finally led the state to secession. And at the secession convention, the place of a given city in the national economy influenced its delegates' votes. The cities with the strongest economic ties with the North — Wheeling, Richmond, Norfolk, and Alexandria — resisted secession while the two cities most isolated from Northern markets and dependent on Southern trade — Petersburg and Lynchburg — eagerly sought a break with the Union. A provocative epilogue emphasizes the essential continuity between the Old South and the New based on what Goldfield sees as the unappreciated extent of antebellum support for urbanization, industrialization, and railroad development.

The book is extremely well-written and the arguments are supported by extensive research in private papers, census schedules, periodicals, and local newspapers. Goldfield's main point about the symbiotic relationship between urban growth and the sectional crisis is a good one and, as he suggests, merits examination for other Southern states. Yet at times the author pushes his claims for the extent of Southern urbanization too far. His own evidence demonstrates the degree to which the 1850s constitute a decade in which Northern cities greatly widened the gap that separated them from their Southern counterparts and this reviewer, at least, remains more impressed with the differences than similarities between Northern and Southern urban society on the eve of the Civil War. Goldfield's excellent chapter on municipal services, for example, typically emphasizes urban Virginia's *interest* in imitating Northern cities while downplaying the relatively meager *actual results*. Goldfield's discussion of urban slavery is another instance where he seems to push his own carefully developed evidence to unwarranted conclusions. After an illuminating analysis of the severe urban

labor shortage, the author concludes that none of the alternative labor systems "provided the flexibility, mobility, efficiency, and profitability that the institution of slavery did." (130) Like Claudia Goldin in her recent cliometrician defense of the vitality of urban slavery, but more conscious of white complaints about the excessive freedom urban slaves enjoyed, Goldfield challenges the earlier findings of Richard C. Wade and argues that had not the war interceded, urban slavery would have flourished for years to come. Such a conclusion based entirely on economic factors remains open to question, but on balance it would seem that Goldfield's insistence on the popularity of urban slavery undermines a key element in his argument for a basic continuity in Southern history. For as recent studies suggest, during the postbellum period, whites sought to banish urban blacks to the countryside. Goldfield cannot have it both ways: either the postwar distaste for urban blacks marked a discontinuity with the past or else antebellum whites were more troubled by urban slavery than the author is willing to acknowledge. This reviewer accepts Goldfield's continuity argument, but sees white desires to rid their cities of blacks, whether slave or free, as a major aspect of that continuity.

Nevertheless, one does not have to agree with everything that Goldfield says to appreciate the great contribution he has made. He has asked the right questions and provided readers with enough valuable new information to allow them to form their own answers. The fields of urban and Southern history are much the richer for his efforts.

Howard N. Rabinowitz
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Joe Bennett McBrien, *The Tennessee Brigade*. (Chattanooga, Tennessee: Hudson Printing and Lithographing Co., 1977, pp. 117)

In July, 1861 the Tennessee regiments in training at Camp Trousdale near Nashville were ordered to Virginia. Arriving at Big Springs, Virginia, the 1st, 7th, and 14th Tennessee Infantry regiments were organized into the "Tennessee Brigade" and placed under the command of General Samuel Anderson.

The Brigade quickly ceased to be exclusively Tennessean. In 1862 the 5th Alabama Battalion and the 13th Alabama Infantry became a part of the Brigade. The loss of over 65% of the Brigade at Gettysburg forced further reorganizations. The decimated units retained their identity, but four Virginia regiments were assigned to the Brigade. Another reorganization in January 1865 brought the 1st, 7th, 14th, 17th, 23rd, 25th, 44th and 63rd Tennessee Infantries along with the 2nd Maryland Battalion under the command of General William McComb. This Brigade, predominantly Tennessean, continued until the end of the war. Actually the "Tennessee Brigade" was composed exclusively of Tennesseans for only a few months in the early part of the war.

The author concentrates his efforts almost entirely on describing the Military action which began for the Tennessee Brigade in September 1862 in the Cheat Mountain campaign. Except for an occasional remark or paragraph, the reader is given no inkling of the background, motivation, or individual experiences of the fighting Tennesseans. This work has no chapter headings. The name of each major campaign or battle participated in by the Brigade is given. The reader progresses chronologically through such battles and campaigns as the Kanawha Valley Campaign, Romney Campaign, Fair Oaks-Seven Pines, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Savage's Station, Frayser's Farm, Malvern Hills, Cedar Run, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. When surrender finally came at Appomattox, only forty-one enlisted men and six officers from the 7th Tennessee Infantry remained to stack their weapons. Other regiments in the Brigade were similarly decimated.

This work is a labor of love that never rises to the level of good history. There are no footnotes, and only eight sources are mentioned in the acknowledgements. There is no table of contents, index, or maps. While the author has obviously spent much time and effort collecting information and presents his material with vigor and sincerity, the Tennesseans and modern Civil War enthusiasts deserve a better victory.

Kenneth R. Johnson
University of North Alabama

Glen Jeansonne. *Leander Perez: Boss of the Delta*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. xvii, 440. Preface, Prologue, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00)

In one way at least this biography of Leander Perez is a hopeful book: if American democracy can withstand the Boss of Plaquemines Parish, it can withstand almost any challenge. Jeansonne has revealed the Perez who is well-known to most Southerners as champion of segregation, confidant and financier of George Wallace, and conservative foe of all liberal causes and candidates. But he has also discussed thoroughly a man who is not so well-known: sagacious and shrewd politician, a man who satisfied his constituents not only with racist rhetoric but also with a private and Parish-wide system of welfare and jobs which kept the unemployment rate in Plaquemines below two percent in the early 1970's.

Perez emerges as a less admirable figure, not primarily because of his ideology (which he shared in common with millions of Southern whites), but because of private corruption. He manipulated his political control of the Parish into a fortune in legal fees and oil leases. He decided elections in the Parish as thoroughly as a Latin American dictator or oriental potentate. In the 1952 gubernatorial campaign Perez returned votes for his favorite from fifteen precincts; there were only fourteen precincts in Plaquemines. After pretending to befriend the fur trappers of his marshy domain, he helped a relative cheat them out of their traditional trapping preserves. A vindictive demagogue in the best tradition of Huey Long, Perez sought not only to defeat his opponents; he sought to annihilate them.

After the depression, the most important goal of his life was to maintain segregation, and he accomplished that task better than almost any other Southern political leader. From 1936 to 1953, not a single black was registered to vote in a Parish which was twenty-eight per cent black. Despite his lifelong Democratic affiliation, he did not cast a ballot for his Party's presidential nominee after 1944 because of what he judged to be the Party's heresy on race. He even withdrew his Parish from a Red Cross hurricane shelter program because there was no guarantee that the shelters would be racially

segregated.

For all his shrewdness and native intelligence, he did the causes which he supported little good. When he appeared on "Firing Line," an educational television program hosted by conservative journalist William F. Buckley, his host was astounded at the bigotry and ignorance of the "Boss of the Delta." Buckley commented at a press conference: "The best thing Judge Perez could do for the cause of state's rights is to shut up." (p. 337).

Jeansonne has written an admirable biography. It is thoroughly researched and probes many of the Judge's idiosyncracies while maintaining admirable balance. It is tempting to dismiss Perez as an empty-headed racist. Jeansonne resists this temptation, and treats the man seriously as a product of a unique and isolated world which hardly can be comprehended by any American unfamiliar with the bizarre character of Louisiana delta politics.

Wayne Flynt
Auburn University

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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